

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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PREFACE.

THE FORTY-SIXTH VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION contains twenty-nine of the principal Papers and communications read before the Members either at the London Session or at the Lincoln Congress held in the summer of 1889, as well as the Reports of Proceedings at that Congress and during the ordinary Meetings.

The year has not been marked with any very unusual discoveries, but excavations that are in progress, or have been recently conducted, in London, Acton, Southwark, Bath, Wall, and Lincoln, have been recorded, and the results notified to the Association. It is not improbable that before long we shall have something to record relating to the recent exploration of Silchester by the Society of Antiquaries, which has been very fruitful in results.

Two very prominent denizens of the world of archaeology have been removed from our ranks by death during the year,—Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., a founder of the Association, and for many years an active office-bearer among us. His great collection of Roman anti-

quities found in Britain, which has passed into the hands of the Nation, and finds to-day a fitting place of deposit in the British Museum, where it still forms the nucleus of our public exhibition of Romano-British antiquities, will keep his name inseparably connected with the study of the Roman occupation of our country.

Dr. Schliemann's work lay in a different direction, and to him we owe our knowledge of the archaic remains of many a classic site, for it fell to him to discourse—perhaps more attractively than any other person of late years—"the tale of Troy divine", and to bring us face to face with the heroic age of ancient Greece.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH.

31 *December* 1890.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA (but see next page). The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, £1:1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1889-90 are as follow:—1889, Nov. 20, Dec. 4. 1890, January 1, 15; Feb. 5, 19; March 5, 19; April 2, 16; May 7 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 21; June 4.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,¹—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.

¹ Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen¹ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and an Honorary Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen² other Associates, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday in May³ in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

¹ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

² Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

³ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . }	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847 WARWICK . . . }	
1848 WORCESTER . . . }	
1849 CHESTER . . . }	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	
1851 DERBY	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853 ROCHESTER . . . }	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854 CHEPSTOW . . . }	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . . }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	
1857 NORWICH	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBURY
1859 NEWBURY	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860 SHREWSBURY	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862 LEICESTER	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bt.
1868 CIRENCESTER	THE EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S	THE LORD LYTTON
1870 HEREFORD	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871 WEYMOUTH	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874 BRISTOL	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875 EVESHAM	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE
1877 LLANGOLLEN	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888 GLASGOW	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.
1889 LINCOLN	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM

THE NEXT CONGRESS WILL BE HELD AT

OXFORD,

UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF

THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.,

COMMENCING MONDAY, 7 JULY 1890.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1889-90.

President.

THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

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 Streatham Hill, S.W.

Sub-Treasurer.

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 E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A., 36 Great Russell Street, W.C.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A., Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.

Palæographer.

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 R. E. WAY, Esq.
 BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.
 ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

Auditors.

W. E. HUGHES, Esq.

| A. CHASEMORE, Esq.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1890.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L denotes Life-Members, and C, Congress Members for the Year.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM,

PRESIDENT.

Date of Election.

- 1865 ARMSTRONG, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- 1854 Adams, Colonel George G., F.S.A., 126 Sloane Street, S.W.
- 1890 Addison, Albert, Esq., Portsmouth
- 1857 Adlam, Wm., Esq., F.S.A., The Manor House, Chew Magna, Bristol
- 1885 Aislabie, Major-General, 90 Piccadilly, W.
- L. 1871 Aldam, William, Esq., Frickley Hall, Doncaster
- L. 1851 Alger, John, Esq., the Public Library, Auchterarder, N.B.
- 1887 Allen, Dr. John
- 1878 Allen, J. Romilly, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., A.I.C.E., 20 Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
- L. 1857 Allen, W. E., Esq.
- 1890 American Geographical Society, New York (care of B. F. Stevens, Esq., 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.)
- L. 1874 Ames, R., Esq., M.A., 3 Hyde Park Mansions, W.
- L. 1857 Amherst, W. A. T., Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Didlington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
- 1869 Andrews, Charles, Esq., Farnham, Surrey
- 1874 Army and Navy Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
- 1877 Ashby, Thomas, Esq., Staines, Middlesex
- 1886 Astley, J., Esq., Stoneleigh Terrace, Queen's Road, Coventry
- 1876 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- L. 1857 BATEMAN, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, Carlton Club
- 1872 BAKER, REV. PREB. SIR TALBOT R. B., Bart., Rauston, Blandford

- 1880 BOILEAU, SIR FRANCIS G. M., Bart., Ketteringham Park, Wy-
mondham
- L. 1860 BOUGHTON, SIR CHARLES ROUSE, Bart., *Vice-President*,* Down-
ton Hall, Ludlow
- L. 1860 BRIDGMAN, HON. AND REV. GEO. T. ORLANDO, M.A., The Hall,
Wigan
- L. 1874 BROWN, SIR JOHN, Endcliffe Hall, Sheffield
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JOHN, THE GOOD.—KING OF FRANCE.

From a Facsimile,—painted in 1858, by Mr. Edward Poynter,
for the Right Hon. C. T. d'Eyncourt,—
Of the contemporary Portrait preserved amongst
the Royal relics in the Louvre.

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SOMERTON CASTLE :

ITS BUILDER, CHARACTER, AND ROYAL PRISONER.

BY THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF NOTTINGHAM,
D.D., F.S.A.

(Read Tuesday, 30th July 1889.)

IN attempting to describe Somerton Castle, such a tripartite heading is necessary on account of the importance of each of them, which I think you will assent to when my present task is done, of endeavouring to unfold shortly the history of that deeply interesting stronghold.

My first duty then is to introduce to you the builder of Somerton Castle. This was Anthony, second son of Walter Beck, Baron of Eresby, a place close to Spilsby, in the county of Lincoln, now possessed by Lord Willoughby de Eresby through his descent from Anthony Beck's elder brother, whose younger brother, Thomas, in Holy Orders, was consecrated as Bishop of St. David's in Lincoln Cathedral, in the presence of Edward I, his Queen, and seven or eight Bishops, on the day of the translation of St. Hugh's body, October 6th, 1280, and took upon himself the whole cost of that grand ceremonial.

Anthony Bec, also in Orders, although lord of the manor of Somerton, was soon after promoted to the office of Archdeacon in the diocese of Durham. Perhaps this was due to the favour of Edward I, then King, which certainly became his subsequently, the result of which was his elevation to the very important bishopric of Durham, when, in the presence of the King and all his court, he was consecrated at Westminster by the Archbishop of

York on the 9th of January 1284, but was not enthroned at Durham until Christmas Eve of the following year, by his brother, the Bishop of St. David's.

At that time, as we well know, bishops were often statesmen and warriors as well as ecclesiastics ; and certainly Anthony Bec was one of these, for he assisted his Sovereign in all of these capacities when Bishop of Durham. He was one of the commissioners of the marriage of Edward Prince of Wales with Margaret of Scotland, and one of the five Regents of Scotland. He was selected to address the States of Scotland, in the name of the King, at the Convention of Norham. He ordered the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert to be brought forth, and put himself at the head of 1,500 foot and 500 cavalry of his own, commanded by 15 knights, in aid of the King on his invasion of Scotland, although suffering from a wound he had previously received when fighting at the Battle of Falkirk, and his force constituted the van of the English army.

Then turning from arms to diplomacy, in 1292 he acted as the English ambassador to the Emperor Adolph of Germany, with a view to forming an alliance with him against France ; and was one of the Council chosen to meet the Legates of Boniface VIII, proposing to make peace between France and England.

Yet from time to time there were dangerous collisions between him and the King, attended by alternate alienations of his estates and their restoration, accompanied by other marks of the renewed royal favour, which went on to the last ; so that when Edward I died, in 1307, on his way to Scotland, he had charged the Bishop with wasting the forests and chases of his diocese, at a Parliament held at Carlisle, which would probably have led to another mulcting of the Bishop's property had that King lived longer.

Upon the accession of Edward II the Bishop recovered all his forfeited estates except those at Hartlepool and Barnard Castle ; but in lieu of these he received the titles of Count Palatine and King of Man, as well as an acknowledgment of another title, that of Patriarch of Jerusalem, which the Pope had given him in 1305.

Three years later he raised a force of 1,500 men to take

part in a fresh Scotch campaign, proposed by Edward II, which, however, did not take place through a truce. This was the Bishop's last military act, and he concluded his political career by taking part in Parliament against Piers Gaveston, the royal favourite, in concert with the Earl of Lancaster. He was then living at his Palace of Eltham, which he had built, and where he was taken ill, and died on the 3rd of March 1311, after having filled the episcopal chair of Durham for twenty-seven years, and was buried between the altars of St. Adrian and St. Michael in Durham Cathedral.

He was the greatest of the Prince-Bishops of Durham, and most magnificent in his acts. He founded the Colleges of Chester and Lanchester in his own diocese, endowed Altringham Priory, and built Somerton Castle in his native county of Lincoln; yet, notwithstanding his immense expenditure, he left great wealth behind him, a portion of which consisted of money of his own coinage, in accordance with a right he possessed to that effect.

Such was Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, Prince Palatine, King of Man, Patriarch of Jerusalem, the builder of Somerton Castle.

Now I must endeavour to describe that Castle, one of the earlier works of the great Bishop Beck. He possessed a house at Somerton, and probably its manor, in the year 1281, three years before his election to the bishopric of Durham, when he obtained a licence from Edward I "to crenelate his dwelling-house at Somerton"; *i.e.*, to fortify it; and this implied its entire rebuilding as a stronghold, of which portions remain until now.

It consisted of a quadrangular pile having circular towers at its angles, the bases of which slope upwards as they rise. This occupied an area 330 ft. long and 180 ft. wide, and there is evidence to show that the walls between these were of the same height. The Castle was further strengthened by two wide moats surrounding it, over which, no doubt, there were drawbridges, and a gate-house to protect the entrance. South of it is an additional large space, once surrounded by a wall, having angle, circular towers 21 ft. in diameter internally, for the further protection and comfort of the inmates of the

Castle, in case of attack, until forced to retreat into the Castle proper.

Three of its angle-towers in part still remain, and the site of the fourth can be readily determined. One at the south-east angle is, happily, still quite perfect, including even its conical roof, so that we may hence distinctly see what was the general character of all. This is 45 ft. high, and contains a polygonal, vaulted room on the ground-floor, and two others above it, each having a small lobby attached to it. The two lower ones are lighted only by small slits, so that the upper one alone is provided with ordinary windows. The top is surmounted by a simple moulding and perfectly plain parapet, and two chimneys, each having two flues. These are very early specimens of chimneys, which were rare in the fourteenth century, and not common in the following one.

At this time the square angle-towers of Norman castles had been superseded by circular ones, because these were better adapted to resist breaching by assailants; but when it was found that besiegers could work at their foundations with comparative impunity, overhanging machicolations were adopted, through which the defenders could drive forth their assailants by simply dropping stones upon them, or shooting them with their crossbows.

The basement storey of the south-west tower still exists, although nearly concealed from view by modern farm-buildings. It contains a polygonal, vaulted room, lighted by three slits, and communicating with a small lobby also supplied with a slip or loophole. The north-west tower, which precisely resembled the south-western one, was levelled with much difficulty in 1849; but happily the lower portion of the north-east angle-tower still remains. The room within it is polygonal, and lighted by five small windows. A central shaft, together with twelve ribs springing from its cap, and corbels inserted in its angles, support a vaulted roof.

Such is Somerton Castle, or rather its remains, which was presented by Anthony Beck to Edward I as an addition to his strongholds, and no doubt led to his subsequent exaltation. He remained the subordinate master or custodian of the Castle for life, and on his death Edward II appointed Lord Beaumont as its Governor,

who died in 1340, when probably Lord D'Eyncourt of Blankney succeeded him; but certainly William, ninth Baron, held that office nineteen years later, and was Governor when John King of France resided there as a captive of the King of England.

Now we have reached the third part of this account of Somerton Castle, viz., the captivity of King John of France within its walls.

Most persons are familiar with the story of our English King, Richard I, imprisoned in the Castle of Tembreuse by the order of Leopold of Austria; but only a few know anything of the detention of the French King, John, surnamed "Le Bon", in Somerton Castle, by the order of Edward III, for upwards of seven months.

After his capture, together with his son Philip, at Mau-pertuis, near Poitiers, Sept. 20th, 1356, and his stay at the Palace of the Savoy for about two years, it became necessary to remove him to some less accessible place, and to guard him with greater strictness, through an expectation of a French descent upon the English coast, which was natural, from a desire to retrieve the fortunes of France by an invasion of England; and, indeed, a descent upon our coast *was* actually made towards the close of 1358.

On the 12th of December in that year, Roger de Beauchamp was ordered to watch the captive King continually with a guard of sixty-nine men-at-arms, and preparations were then made to send him to Somerton Castle: not Somerton in Somersetshire, as Leland and other authors following him have recorded, but Somerton in Lincolnshire. This removal, however, was postponed until the spring of the following year, during which time he had been living at Hertford Castle, still in Lord Beauchamp's custody. Then, King Edward commissioned William Lord D'Eyncourt, with others, to remove the French King and his son, Prince Philip, from Hertford to Somerton Castle; and they and their suite arrived there, guarded by upwards of forty men-at-arms and archers, on the evening of Saturday August 4th.

Now he was in the custodianship of Lord D'Eyncourt and Sir Henry de Greystock as Constable of the Castle; but he was still allowed upwards of forty persons to wait

upon him, among whom were two chaplains, a clerk of the chapel, a secretary, a physician, three pages, a *maître d'hôtel*, a minstrel, a painter, four valets, three wardrobe-men, three farriers, six grooms, two cooks, a fruiterer, a spiceman, a barber, a washer, and as we may hope, for the amusement of all the inmates of the Castle, "*Maistre Jean le fol*", or a royal, half-cracked wit. The King brought with him furniture for the rooms occupied by himself, Prince Philip, and "*Maitre Jean*", and also for the chapel; and he was supplied with an abundance of Bordeaux wine, brought by sea for his use to Boston, and large quantities of sugar, spices, and medicines were bought for him in London, Lincoln, and Boston. He had a tailor's shop in Lincoln, presided over by his own master-tailor, Tassin de Breuil, who made grand suits of clothes for him whilst at Somerton, and others for Prince Philip, and the jester. These were gorgeous as to colour, and largely trimmed with minever and other costly furs, on account of which Tassin was allowed horse-hire for his journeys; and on one occasion certainly was invited to play a game at backgammon with the King, as we find from the account of his expenditure when at Somerton that he played with him for a "*cote hardi*", and lost the game! His table was furnished with gold plate, and one of his cups was a golden one set with emeralds; and even his jester had a silver-gilt drinking-cup of his own. He was fond of literature, paintings, and music; all of which tastes he gratified when at Somerton, as we find from the "*Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France*", and was supplied with an organ, an organist, a harp, and other musical instruments.

The natural tastes of the valorous young Prince Philip, when a prisoner with his royal father, are also indicated by the same source, for he had dogs for coursing on Lincoln Heath, a falconer and falcons, and was instructed in the art of falconry by Monsieur Grace de la Buigne, the head chaplain. He also indulged, I am sorry to say, in the then ordinary sport of cock-fighting, as from the royal household account we find that a "cock, a joustler", or a fighting-cock, was bought by his order.

King John of France was a generous benefactor to the Church, and a most liberal dispenser of charity to the

poor and afflicted when on the throne or in captivity. Daily did he make an offering to the Curate of Boothby when at Somerton, and larger offerings to him on the greater festivals. He gave considerable sums to the then four mendicant Orders at Lincoln, and washed the feet of thirteen poor persons on Maundy Thursday before he bestowed his alms upon them; whilst in his treasury accounts the words "*aumosne secrète*", or secret alms, very often occur, so expended as to show distinctly that he was neither a formal nor an ostentatious giver; and that he had the sympathy of the poor near Somerton is distinctly proved by humble offerings of pigeons, fruit, and the like, which were presented to him during his stay there by the peasantry of the neighbourhood; whilst in return he ordered an ample gratuity to be given to a poor woman whose bucket of milk had been upset by one of his hounds when starting on a coursing expedition, and various gratuities to other humble persons.

That stay came to an end on the 21st of March 1360, through a renewed fear of a French invasion, when, during the absence of King Edward, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, as custodian of the kingdom, ordered a sufficient force, with the aid of Lord D'Eyncourt, to convey the King of France to the Castle of Berkhamstead for his greater security, and he arrived in London eight days later,—with which fact this paper must close.

NOTES ON LINCOLN CASTLE.

BY GEORGE PATRICK, ESQ., A.R.I.B.A.

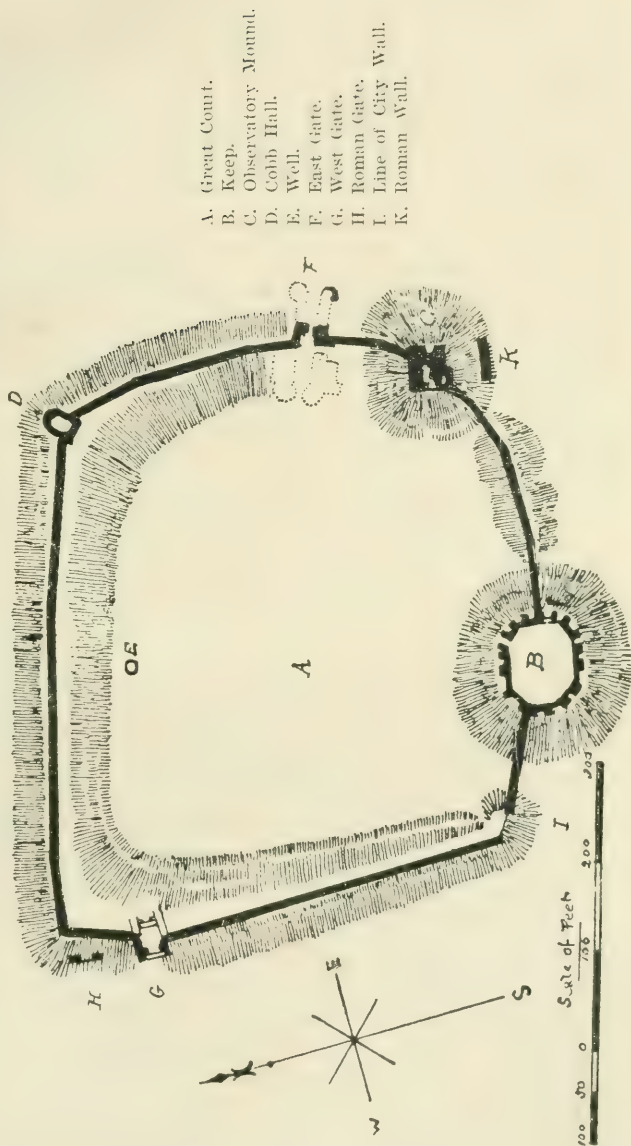
(Read Tuesday, 30th July 1889.)

THE earliest inhabitants of Lincolnshire are supposed to have been the ancient British tribe of the Coritani, who long before the coming of the Romans built themselves a stronghold upon the summit of the steep hill now in part occupied by the Norman Castle of Lincoln; so that for a period of some 2,000 years it may, perhaps, be said, the hill on which we are now assembled has been a fortified position. No remains, however, now exist that can be attributed with any degree of certainty to the original possessors of the land, for during that long period the occupation of the hill of Lincoln successively by Roman and Saxon, Dane and Norman, would almost certainly obliterate all traces of the earlier defences of the Britons. With their Roman conquerors, however, the case is very different. We have already seen the remains of some of their works, and we shall shortly see many more.

The Roman station known as *Lindum Colonia* was situated upon the crest of the steep slope running down 200 feet to the river Witham. It was of rectangular formation, following the invariable plan of a Roman fortified camp. Roughly it measured about 1,200 feet from north to south, and 1,500 feet from east to west. Massive portions of its walls still remain to attest its strength and importance. The Roman station appears to have been divided by a wall running from east to west, with a gateway in the centre of its length. The northern portion thus formed was occupied by the garrison, while the southern formed the city. The southern half is now occupied by the Cathedral and the Castle. The old Roman way, the "Ermine Street" (now known as Steep Hill, Bail or Bail Gate), passes through the station from north to south; entering from the south by a gate, some remains of which still exist, and emerging on the north through the yet standing Roman arch called New Port.

PLAN OF LINCOLN CASTLE.

Copied, by permission, from S. F. Clark's "Mediæval Architecture".



It is with the south-western corner of the station that this paper has to do.

During the long period, mostly one of anarchy, which elapsed between the withdrawal of the Romans from the country, A.D. 411, and the erection of the earthworks of the present Castle, the old walls of Lindum suffered nearly total demolition, or were rendered useless for defensive purposes. This was the time of the invasions of the pagan hordes from beyond the seas, known to us as Saxons and Danes. Which of the two invading bodies threw up the present earthen mounds and enclosing earthworks will probably always remain an unsettled question. The character of the fortification, however, is common to both; and that these earthworks were thrown up long after the departure of the Romans is conclusively proved by the remains of the Roman walls and gates which have been discovered from time to time buried within them.

It is probable the circular mounds were first thrown up, on the larger of which (now covered by the keep) the chief took up his quarters, protected by a palisade and circum-scribing ditch. Mr. G. T. Clark, F.S.A., one of our chief authorities on English fortresses, says that "when the English lord took up his abode within a Roman camp or station, he often turned the Roman works, whether of earth or masonry, to good account, and threw up his bank in one corner, altering the contiguous banks and ditches to suit his new arrangements". We can see that this description illustrates pretty well what happened at Lincoln, for a portion of the old Roman south wall is seen to project through the outer slope of the smaller of the two mounds, while the line of the old Roman west wall is followed by the present earth-bank, in which, some fifty odd years ago, the Roman west gate was accidentally discovered; but unfortunately only to be lost for ever a day or two after, for owing to the undermining of the masonry, the whole suddenly collapsed. This gate is described as having been very similar to the still standing New Port.

These earth-banks are of great solidity, being 50 to 80 yards broad at the base, and from 20 to 30 ft. in height,

and the two mounds are each about 40 ft. high. The area enclosed by the walls is about 6 acres.

We now arrive at the period of the construction of the present Castle. When, in 1068, William the Conqueror was proceeding from York to Cambridge he visited Lincoln (even then a noted and very populous place, as we are told by William of Malmesbury), the Conqueror must necessarily have passed beneath the old Roman arch still spanning the Bail Gate, and could not fail to notice the immense strength and importance of the position occupied by these earthworks. No opposition appears to have been offered to his progress by the inhabitants, and we are consequently left in doubt as to the condition of the place to resist an attack. It was, doubtless, fenced in, but probably more as a protection against wild animals, for during the long and comparatively peaceable reign of Edward the Confessor most of the defences of the kingdom had been allowed to fall into decay. At all events William obtained peaceable possession.

Domesday Book relates that he at once ordered one hundred and sixty-six houses to be demolished, and a Norman fortress to be erected. It is likely that these houses, or *mansions* as they are called in *Domesday*, were only wooden buildings which had been suffered to spring up within the enclosures, and they could speedily be removed, when William's officers would proceed, in pursuance of his orders, to construct a Norman stronghold, which most probably at first consisted of wooden towers connected by palisades built upon the top of the earth-banks; for we must remember it was barely two years after Hastings, and the country was still struggling against the foreign yoke. When, in this way, the possession of the country had been made secure, the Norman barons commenced to erect those massive fortresses of masonry, some of which still stand, grim and grey, bearing eloquent witness to the subjection of the country.

Those members of this Association and of the Leland Club, to whom I had the pleasure of describing Hedingham Castle and Rochester in the autumn of 1887, will remember the massive nature of the construction of those Norman keeps. Here at Lincoln we also have a Norman fortress probably of about the same date, but of a dif-

ferent character. Here the keep is an example of a class called "shell-keeps", which were simply walled enclosures open to the sky within, and erected always upon the summit of a mound, if not of natural elevation, then purposely raised. In almost every case where a shell-keep exists it occupies the site of an older fortification, and such is the case at Lincoln. The keep is of late Norman date, probably of about 1140. The walls are about 8 ft. in thickness.

The present approach, by means of the steep flight of steps in the face of the mound, is, no doubt, the original method, although somewhat modernised. The dry ditch which formerly encircled the mound (now in great measure filled up) was crossed by a wooden drawbridge at the foot of these steps.

The keep is polygonal in plan, but of irregular formation, having fifteen faces on the outside, and twelve on the inside. The exterior angles are strengthened by broad, pilaster-like buttresses of shallow projections, but rising from a uniform plinth. When perfect, this keep had parapets similar to those of the curtain-walls; but as there are no arrow-slits in the masonry, and no signs of a portcullis to the doorway, the entrance was probably defended by a projecting timber gallery, called a "hourd", which overhung the base of the walls for several feet, and enabled the defenders to pour down a hail of stones, boiling pitch, water, and other missiles, upon the heads of an attacking force, without danger to themselves. These "hours" were not mounted in times of peace, but were kept ready for use, and being of wood were easily placed in position when an attack was apprehended. In some cases, however, they were partly of stone, and when altogether so were termed "machicolations".

I can discover no traces of a portcullis to the entrance-door, and the door itself was secured by a stout wooden beam. The cavities in which it was inserted are still visible in the masonry. Sometimes these shell-keeps had buildings of masonry within them, against the walls, leaving the centre open for light and air; but I see no signs of any such here, but there may have been, and probably was, more than one building of *timber* ranging round the inside, the numerous holes in the walls afford-

ing the requisite support for the ends of the beams, the other ends being carried on posts. A second doorway may be seen at the south-west, which opened upon the outer ditch. There are indications also of a third door just outside the curtain-wall eastward. The parapet-walk was approached from the inside of the keep by means of a staircase against the wall ; probably of wood, as I see no indications of stone steps.

For a considerable period after the construction of this Norman keep it was entirely isolated from the rest of the defences, and surrounded by its own ditch. Later on the curtain-walls were continued up the slope of the mound on both sides, as we now see them ; and where they meet the walls of the keep a chamber is constructed in the thickness of the masonry on either side. They are not now accessible, and Mr. Clark describing them says "they have no door towards the ramparts of the curtain, and seem to have been entered from the upper part of the keep. That to the west door was a garderobe ; the other may have been an oratory, as at Arundel, as it is said to have been groined and vaulted."

The principal entrance to the Castle is on the east side, the inner archway being of Norman date, perfectly plain in character. It would appear that some time in the fourteenth century the original Norman gateway was partly pulled down, and the present outer arch, with circular turrets corbelled out at the angles above, was erected in front of it. These turrets probably gave access, by staircases on either side, to the rampart-walk of the curtain-walls.

The modern doorway and alterations have rendered it impossible now to determine how the gate was defended. There is no sign of any portcullis ; but it is almost impossible the chief entrance of the Castle could have been without such a protection, which would have been worked from the chamber over the gateway, and it is likely that some portion of the groove for it does remain hidden from our view. There was also a drawbridge across the ditch, in front of this gate.

Behind the buildings of the Assize Courts may be seen the remains of the old west gate of the Castle, now walled up. I was not able to get close to examine it, but

obtained a good view from the roadway beneath. Portions of the return-walls, forming part of the barbican, still remain.

The enclosing or curtain-wall is of Norman date, and is in very perfect condition. It has, of course, been carefully repaired; and the battlements are modern restorations, but some of the ancient ones yet remain. The north and west sides are thought to be early Norman. Some authorities consider them to be of the time of the Conqueror.

You will notice at the north-west angle the masonry is faced in "herring-bone" fashion, as it is termed, after the manner of the Roman; but with this difference, that the Norman "herring-bone" work is only a facing, the Roman was carried through the thickness of the walls.

Some years ago, I believe, when some restorations were in progress, part of the foundations of these walls were exposed to view, and they were found to have been erected on timber framing laid upon earth-banks. This was a customary precaution to prevent settlement.

The other sides are later, probably of the time of Stephen, when much work appears to have been done to the Castle by the Earl of Chester, to whom that King granted a licence to fortify and hold a tower in the Castle; which presumably was the keep, as it is of that period, and from its position could be held independently.

There must have been a well to supply this keep, but I have not been able to ascertain its position. There is a large and deep well still in use, opposite the keep at the north side of the great court; but it is most unlikely that the keep itself was without one.

The parapet-walks of the curtain-wall were approached from the great court either by steps cut in the slope of the earth-bank or rampart, or by an inclined plane of earth, the parapet itself being reached by a flight of stone steps let into the curtain-wall.

Upon the smaller mound (now known as the Observatory Mound) there is a tower of Norman date, rectangular in plan, which contains a good straight staircase in the wall. This building has been added to very considerably, in the fourteenth century, on the east side, and the turret is modern. At the foot of the outside staircase

leading up to this tower there is a doorway in the curtain-wall, now blocked up, but the Norman relieving arch over it is clearly visible. This door was, no doubt, a postern.

The tower situated at the north-eastern angle of the enclosure, called "Cobb Hall" (why so called I am unable to say), is a building of the fourteenth century. It was evidently added to strengthen a weak point in the defences. It is possible there may have been an earlier bastion at this spot, which for some reason was taken down, as it is very unusual for so great a length of curtain-wall to be unprovided with any flanking defence, which without this tower would be the case. This tower is internally of unusual design and construction. It consists of a basement-story and upper floor, both being groined and vaulted, and communicating through a trap in the floor by means of a ladder. The upper floor is larger than the basement, and consists of a square bay with side-recesses, that in the west containing a stone staircase leading to the battlements. Both floors have apsidal terminations in three divisions, in which are placed the loops very deeply splayed. On entering this tower one is struck by its resemblance to a chapel, but there is no evidence of its ever having been used as such. On the contrary, it appears to have been a place of confinement. You will see stout iron rings attached to the walls of the apse on both floors, to which the prisoners were chained, and rude drawings and scratchings on the walls, representing a stag-hunt, and other subjects, which are the results of the captives' efforts to while away the weary hours of imprisonment.

It is recorded that in 1144 King Stephen celebrated the festival of Christmas at Lincoln Castle with much rejoicing. The residential accommodation, however, for the lord of the Castle and his family, furnished by the buildings within the keep and the tower on the Observatory Mound, would be very limited, and would only be resorted to under the stress of a siege, for neither these shell-keeps nor the more massive rectangular keeps were intended for ordinary residence in times of peace. The domestic buildings, therefore, with the private apartments of the lord and lady, and the hall, the kitchen, and

offices, the stables, and quarters for the retainers and servants, were usually situated within the great court of the Castle, which was divided by walls or fences into inner and outer wards. All remains of these buildings here, however, have disappeared. Some foundations may possibly exist beneath the surface; and perhaps some of our local friends can tell us if any such are known.

There are many historical events of which Lincoln Castle has been the scene, particularly during the troubled times when King Stephen and the Empress Maud were struggling for the succession to the crown. In 1140 the Castle was surprised and captured by the adherents of the Empress. It was subsequently besieged by Stephen, aided by the inhabitants; but the Earl of Gloucester coming to its relief with a force of 10,000 men, a great battle took place on Candlemas Day, 1141, in the fields to the north-west of the Castle. The King, after fighting with desperate valour, was taken prisoner, and removed in the Earl's custody to Bristol. He was, however, released some time afterwards, being exchanged for the Earl himself, who had been captured in a subsequent battle. It was after his release and restoration to the throne that he passed Christmas here, as before stated.

According to Speed, Henry II, after being crowned in London, was afterwards crowned at Lincoln. In 1196 Richard I dispossessed the then lord of this Castle, Gerard de Camville, and put it up for public sale. King John received at Lincoln the homage of David King of Scotland; and in the struggle between that monarch and his barons, the King, with the assistance of the townspeople, held the Castle for a considerable time against all the efforts of his enemies; but the place was at length captured by Gilbert de Gaunt, afterwards created Earl of Lincoln. The Castle was, after about twelve months, again captured by the Royalists, but fell shortly after into the hands of the barons once more, and it was while marching with a large force to attack it that the unfortunate King lost all his baggage in crossing the Wash.

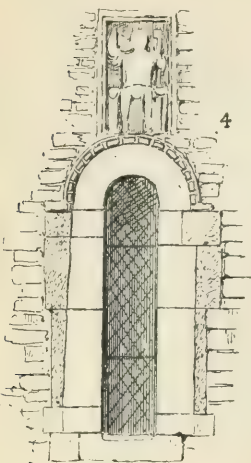
In 1217 Lincoln Castle witnessed the total defeat of the French and English adherents of Louis the Dauphin in the great battle known as "The Fair of Lincoln." At the time the constablenesship of the Castle was held by a

lady, the Lady Nicholea de Camville, the widow of the Gerard de Camville before mentioned. Later on in history the Castle was possessed by the celebrated John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who is said to have erected a palace at Lincoln; and that beautiful oriel window we noticed on the right side on entering the Castle gate was brought from the ruins of this palace, and placed where we now see it by Lord Brownlow in 1849.

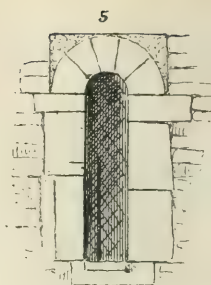
The Castle had respite from siege for nearly four centuries, until the wars between King Charles and the Parliamentarians, when it was captured by the latter under the Earl of Manchester. The Castle was stormed, the Cathedral Close was pillaged, and the grand old minster desecrated by his troops. The townspeople on this, as on previous occasions, sided with the King, and the Castle was bravely defended by Sir Francis Fane; but was at length taken with the loss of fifty of its defenders slain, and many townsmen and officers and troops made prisoners, including the Governor.

In conclusion let me just mention a little handbook called *Walks through the Streets of Lincoln*, by the Rev. Precentor Venables, and say with what pleasure I have read that valuable and deeply interesting guide to the antiquities of this grand old city.

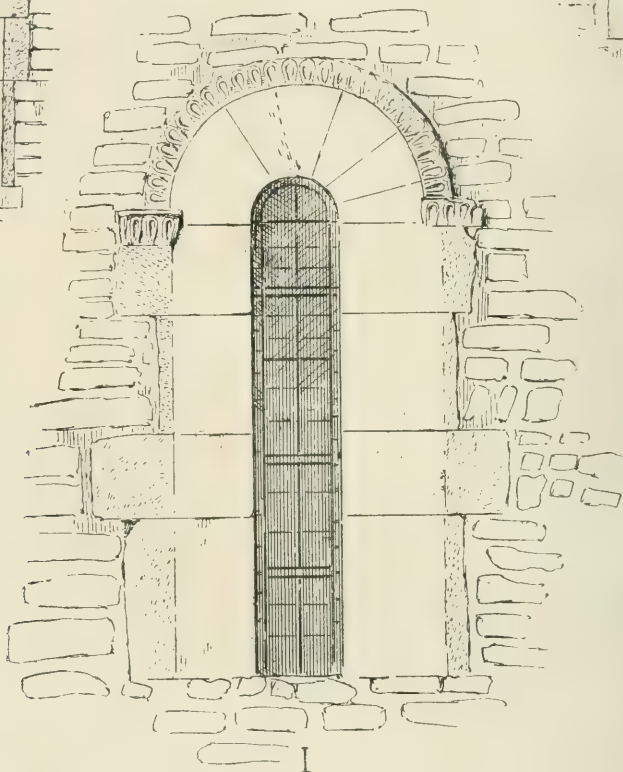
SAXON ARCHITECTURE
AT
STOW AND ST. PETER'S-AT-GOWTS.



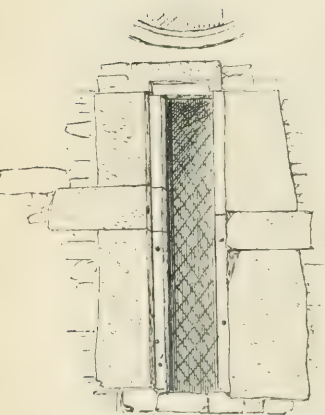
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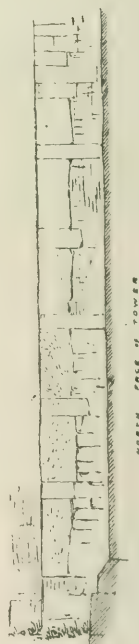


2

- No. 1. South window, Stow Church,
from a sketch by C. Lynam,
Esq.
- „ 2. North window, Stow.
- „ 3. Long and short Quoins, St.
Peter-at-Gowts, N.W. angle
of Nave.
- „ 4. West window of Tower, do.
- „ 5. South window of Tower, do.,
1st story.

E. P. L. B., delt.

CORRECTION OF TEXT. Instead of "These two churches are of somewhat earlier date," read "one of." The Tower of St. Peter-at-Gowts is not bonded into the walls at the line shown on sketch No. 3.



3

THE CHURCHES OF THE CITY OF LINCOLN.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A, HON. SEC.

(*Read Wednesday, 31 July 1889.*)

THE scope of this paper is to call attention to a remarkable group of parish churches once existing at Lincoln, to suggest a Saxon foundation for most of them, and finally to propose a moderately early Saxon date for the two church towers, St. Mary-le-Wigford and St. Peter-at-Gowts.

Visitors to Lincoln soon recognise the existence of some churches of peculiar interest, the study of which amply repays attention; but few of them appear to be aware that the number of such fabrics originally was extremely great. Those which remain, and which so far as the older portions of the city are concerned, appear to be amply sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants, represent not one quarter of the number of which the sites are known or fairly well known.¹

When we consider the moderate extent of the ancient city, girded by its Roman wall, and its suburbs beginning to extend beyond them, we are brought face to face with a curious problem which is not easily solved. What were the influences which brought about the foundation of so vast a number of churches, which appear to our knowledge, judging by our every day experience, to have been altogether in excess of the needs of the people? This is apart from the vast size of the Cathedral and some still later chapels, and monastic foundations, to which latter the inhabitants would be admitted, not by right, but at the pleasure of the ecclesiastics.

¹ The large scale Ordnance Maps recently published indicate the sites of about fifty-two churches. Of these only twelve are in use, and one is disused. Excepting four and St. Botolph, which is almost entirely modern, all these have been rebuilt. It has to be taken into consideration that in such rebuilding several of the existing churches were made of greater capacity than before, to meet the needs of the worshippers.

The phenomenon of the existence of a vast number of churches crowded together in a limited area occurs in many other of our English towns and cities, of which London, Norwich, York, and Winchester, originally, may be cited as examples. Consideration of these groups readily affords us indications of a certain kind that their foundations date from Saxon times rather than from any later period. That new parishes were laid out, and churches were erected at later times, no one need doubt or deny ; but that the great bulk of our town churches, as well as most of our country ones, are of Saxon foundation will become more apparent to the student the more the subject is investigated. It is true of the other groups of churches ; it is true equally so of the Lincoln group, so far as we may judge by the following evidences :—

1st. The absence of documentary evidence of the formation of the great number of parishes in Norman or later times. We might expect to find such record did any such exist ; but we *do not*, except in very few instances ; so few as to assist us in the supposition that where it is not recorded, the formation is anterior to the Norman conquest.

We have notices at Lincoln of how particular churches were enlarged, rebuilt, beautified, or chantries founded, but not of the formation of the parishes. At London and elsewhere we have precisely the same. Where evidence of the erection of the church would lead us to believe that the fabric was then first founded, we are met with prior but it may be casual evidence of the existence of a church on the site. We have everything recorded since the Conquest except the formation of the general bulk of our parishes. In fact, the Normans and their successors had their hands amply full in improving, enlarging, endowing, and rebuilding the foundations of their predecessors. They founded costly monastic buildings, but they did not (and it does not appear to have been fashionable to any very great extent to) found new parishes. In London it is a matter of difficulty to find any single parish to the west of the City (in which direction the increase of population tended) which does not contain a greater number of new chapels of ease or fabrics, however else they may be designated, founded since the beginning

of the seventeenth century, than were formed in the whole of London from the Norman conquest to the Reformation.¹

2nd. In Lincoln, as elsewhere, the general tendency of the dedications of the churches points to a Saxon foundation. We find that while they are generally called after saints who were popular in Saxon times as well as in later ones, there are several dedicated to saints to whom churches would hardly be named if originally erected by Normans. Of these, there are or were the following: St. Cuthbert, St. Bavon, St. Benedict, St. Swithin, St. Augustine, St. Rumbold, St. Edward, and St. Botolph.

St. Martin is a very early dedication, but it continues to be a late one as well; All Hallows (or All Saints) occurs twice; St. Peter, a favourite Saxon dedication, occurs no less than six times; Holy Trinity three times. Of the other dedications common to all times, it is a matter of curiosity to note that St. Mary only occurs twice; and St. Andrew, a very common name in early Lincolnshire churches, twice.

Of the other dedications, distinctively of Norman times, there is but one, that of the Chapel of St. Thomas à Becket, which stood south of the Stone Bow, on the High Bridge.

The names of Danish saints are conspicuous by their absence. The consideration of the existence of so many churches, and as yet no cathedral, reveals to us a curious aspect of the town, very different from its present appearance, but which has its counterpart in the towns of Exeter and Chichester, which existed and flourished for many years prior to the erection of their respective cathedrals.

The existence of a bishop's seat at Stow, and not at

¹ Some of the Lincoln churches were remarkably close to one another. Thus St. Peter-at-Pleas stood in the same churchyard as St. Peter-at-Arches; St. John the Poor stood south of the present "Bishop's Hostel"; St. Peter-ad-Vincula was not a stone's throw to the east of it, while All Hallows occupied a site in East Gate, almost touching the Church of St. Mary Magdalene. I have elsewhere referred to the almost exact orientation of our English churches in comparison with those of Rome or any of the other great cities of Italy, where no rule is observed. It may be added that the many churches of Lincoln were all but exactly orientated, except the present St. Peter's, where local difficulty has slightly interfered.

Lincoln, in a comparatively obscure village, is an interesting feature of the habits of our Saxon ancestors, and it may be taken as evidence of their dislike (at first at any rate) to live within the walls of a town, and also as showing the unbroken continuance of such towns from Roman times. This dislike would hardly continue for long.

3rd. The curious multiplication of churches which we have thus seen as existing at Lincoln has its counterpart throughout the county. Lincolnshire is remarkable for the existence of a vast number of churches. The Rev. Precentor Venables' list gives so many as 687. These are or were scattered pretty generally throughout the county. Wherever, however, a gathering together of people occurred in Saxon times, there we find the existence of several churches recorded either by tradition, by documentary evidence, or by the existence of some of the fabrics. The Saxon town of Stamford has or had so many as sixteen, Long Sutton and Toynton villages four each. Torksey has the tradition of the existence of several. On the other hand, Boston, the wealthy growth of Norman and later times, continued to have, all through the period of its prosperity, only its single parish church. Grimsby, in like manner, a flourishing seaport in the middle ages, has still only its single church of old foundation.

4th. The existence of Saxon work still remaining in the county is also fair evidence to refer to in support of the argument that our group of churches is of Saxon foundation. There are in Lincolnshire a great many examples of undoubtedly Saxon workmanship. These consist, for the main part, of tall, well built stone towers, slender in relation of their width to the height, placed at the west end; having a western door, tall and narrow in proportion; and belfry-windows of two semicircular-headed arches, with a shaft between them.

There is a remarkable resemblance between all these towers, and although they vary in detail, their relationship one with the other has led pretty unanimously to their being considered of Saxon date. This is, however, supposed to be a late Saxon date,—a belief in which, personally, I do not share, for I consider that we have sufficient evidence to prove that they are not so late as has been supposed, although not so early as some other Saxon

work elsewhere, St. Peter's, Barton-on-Humber, being an example of earlier work.

Now we have two of these towers at Lincoln, in the well-known examples of St. Peter-at-Gowts and St. Mary-le-Wigford.¹ These dedications are not distinctively Saxon, and yet the existence of the inscription at St. Mary's shows us that in that instance it was bestowed at the early period of the erection of the tower.

But exception will be at once taken to my supposition that these two churches were founded prior to the Conquest, and that the towers are of fairly early Saxon date. Will it not at once be said that this cannot be, owing to the belief expressed over and over again by some of our best known antiquaries, that they were only founded to meet the wants of the population driven out of the upper town when William the Conqueror erected his Castle, and on ground only then capable of supporting them by being drained? That in consequence the towers date from a period later than the Conquest.

These statements have set back our knowledge of Saxon architecture not a little, since they have falsified the study of these two remarkable towers, so well deserving of study as they are, and have deprived them of their value as examples of fairly early work.

Let us consider these objections in order. That there was no lack of churches south of the old Roman wall of Lincoln, in the district where these two churches are, is abundantly attested by the fact that St. Benedict's still stands with its east end to Ermine Street, as did St. John's close to Bull Yard; St. Mark's is still close at hand; St. Edward's was very near to it; St. Andrew's was opposite John of Gaunt's Stables, so called; Holy Trinity was near the Unitarian Chapel; Holy Cross was next to Gowt's Bridge; St. Michael's was where St. Peter's Schools now stand; St. Margaret's was close to the Golden Cross Inn; and St. Botolph was and is close to the site of the Great Bar-Gate, still further away. All these churches, and the two under discussion, are or were

¹ The tower of at least one of the churches in St. Peter, East Gate, ruined in the civil wars, appears by old drawings to have been similar. The tower of St. Benedict, rebuilt with old materials, has belfry-windows of the same character, with mid-wall shafts.

in the district under review, at the south end of the city, known in mediæval times as Wigford.

The tendency of my remarks has been to suggest that the great bulk of the Lincoln churches were founded prior to the Conquest, and these now referred to among the number; not only by the absence of documentary evidence, which would be in existence if posterior to that event, but by the names of the dedications, and by analogy with other places.

That the district was drained in Saxon times follows as a necessary consequence on the actual existence of the churches; but we have some sort of evidence, apart even from the existence of the fortifications, up to St. Botolph's Church. This may be taken for what it is worth. It is that the Great Gowt, supposed by the antiquaries referred to to be the work of the Conqueror, in reality may be much older. I think it may be so from the fact that its western part is exactly at a right angle to the line of the old Roman road of approach; and this arrangement is probably designedly so, since, if the sewer were formed many hundreds of years later, such an exact crossing would hardly have arisen.¹ It was more likely to occur at the formation of the Ermine Street than at any later period, since then the makers need not have studied any such exact arrangement. The Ermine Street itself shows by its formation that it stood on what was dry ground in Roman times. It is true that it might have been then simply a raised causeway through a marsh; but in this case there might have been some sign of its engineers having bent the course of the road to find, in approaching the ancient settlement on the hill, some spot better adapted than another. But there is no sign of this. The road, in making for Lincoln from the south, goes fairly straight, as if there were no obstacle worth avoiding.

But now I must turn to some drier and more tedious details of building construction in support of my state-

¹ In addition, its return, the Sincil Dyke, going north, towards the city, is for a long distance exactly parallel with the Ermine Street. This may be an accidental circumstance; but it looks as if it were designedly so, and the work of the same people. Lincoln is, indeed, full of similar evidences of boundaries and divisions at right angles to one another, as if derived from Roman times. These can be studied on almost any large-scale map of the city.

ment that these two towers are of fairly old Saxon work. I will pass over the fact that there really does not appear to be any documentary evidence, but only the conjecture, that when the occupants of the demolished houses sought for a new home, they found it here, far away on the low land, when other suburbs nearer were equally ready for them.

I turn to the Saxon work of Stow Church. Here we have what has hitherto been wanting at these two towers, a fairly authenticated date to go upon. We may safely accept the fact that the church here was built before it was burnt by the Danes in 870. We may with equal safety assume that the date of its restoration was somewhere in the tenth century; that the portions with fire-marks are the earliest, and those built above such marks the latest.

Some of the characteristics of the work at Stow are the following, there being really not much difference between what is early and what is late, except the absence of pilaster-strips to the latter. There are quoins to the angles of large masses of stone, neatly squared, and with *sawn joints*. The work is really very neatly executed. The faces were smoothed after the manner of many Roman stones, and then they were covered in some cases, but designedly, not in all, with tool-marks; not in long lines, diagonally, as in Norman work; but the markings are spread all over the stone wherever they occur, not parallel to one another, but radiating, or irregular, or different at one end of the stone to what occurs at the other; and such like.

To see the work is at once to recognise it, although, as I have already said, it occurs on one side of some of the quoins, and it is designedly omitted on others. It occurs on the latest, but it is seen also on what is undoubtedly the oldest, part of the work, and, indeed, on the burnt piers, showing that in these cases it was in use in early Saxon times. This work also occurs in a curious way on the little, long window in the south face of the south transept, where a portion only of the stone is so treated, leaving a broad, flat band of smooth stone all round the jambs and arch, under the carved, circular label. All the stone, in fact, not included in such flat band is thus

worked. Some of these stones, similarly marked, we shall find built up as old material in the Norman nave (Bishop Alexander's work), and when once seen they are readily recognised.¹

If we turn to the two towers under discussion, we shall find the same peculiarities in both of them almost exactly the same, there being no more difference than we may expect to find in work not actually executed by the same workmen. The quoins are almost exactly tooled in the same way; there is exactly the same peculiarity in the fact that some of the faces are not tooled at all, that the joints are neatly sawn, and the thickness of mortar is consequently not very great. The thickness averages something under a quarter of an inch in all three examples. At St. Peter-at-Gowts there is the same peculiar feature of some of the stone to one of the windows, and partly to another, being tooled, and the rest not. It occurs thus on the window just below those of the belfry, west front. This window has a label with billet-moulding instead of the peculiar carving on the label of the window at Stow. The architectural resemblance of the three examples one to the other, in these technicalities of work, is complete and decided, and the age of one cannot be much different from the age of the other; but while I think it is that of the later work at Stow, I am not prepared to say that it is so. It may be the earlier. It will be noticed that some of the earlier quoins at Stow are not saw-cut. The same thing is observable at both of the Lincoln towers, in the lower portions. Although very regular long and short work exists at St. Peter-at-Gowts, and not so pronounced at St. Mary-le-Wigford, I think the general style of the masonry will show that the latter is slightly the earlier of the two. These towers are, however, of medium Saxon date, and are not so late as after the Conquest, as has been stated.

These three examples may be very favourably compared with the work of Bishop Remigius at the Cathedral. The work is much better in each of them. While

¹ The peculiar pattern of the label of the south window is similar to that of the label, west face of western arch, under the central tower, thus identifying the work. A small portion of the same pattern, but portion of a stringcourse, is built up in the south aisle wall of St. Mary-le-Wigford Church,

one of the joints (north-west angle of the north transept) at Stow measures hardly one-twentieth of an inch in thickness, sawn neat and true, the work at the Cathedral is wide-jointed, with stonework axed only, and not sawn. In the Saxon examples the wrought stones are large; in the Cathedral, small. Certainly the earliest Norman work at Lincoln is not so good, structurally, as that of these Saxon buildings which are at least one hundred years older, or probably much more.

Note.—It may not be amiss to call attention to there being fair reason to suppose that these two churches are of somewhat earlier date than their towers. The walls are not bonded together, showing that the work was not built at the same time. The long and short work of the west end of St. Peter-at-Gowts is very decided, more so than to the tower itself, which also favours this supposition. The sketches explain themselves; and it may be only necessary to add that the lines which appear in the arch of the small window, south side of the tower, St. Peter-at-Gowts, are not joints. They are markings only, to imitate joints, all being worked out, apparently, of a single stone.

In the discussion after the reading of the above paper, the following remarks were made by the Rev. Precentor Venables. They are given here since they render interesting reference to documentary evidence which ought not to be separated from the subject-matter of the paper:

“Mr. Loftus Brock’s remarks on the celebrated præ-Norman Lincoln towers at St. Peter-at-Gowts and St. Mary-le-Wigford are of great value, and I cannot doubt that they will receive the attention they deserve. I think it is the first time that the masonry of these towers has received careful inspection from any one who from examination of similar works, and from wide architectural knowledge and practical experience, has been qualified to speak with authority as to the date this masonry indicates.

“We have all known long since that these towers were præ-Norman in style. Their tall, tapering outline, so unlike the square massiveness of the towers of the Norman builders; the almost entire absence of fenestral openings in the lower stages, or more properly *stage*, for there is no division by stringcourses between the ground and the belfry story; the coupled belfry windows with the single mid-wall shaft, supporting the massive through-stone which forms the impost; not to mention the entire absence of any means of communication from story to story, except by ladders,—are unmistakable features of the primitive form of Romanesque which flourished in our island in so-called Anglo-Saxon times, until it was slowly but effectually supplanted by the ‘*novum compositionis genus*’, as William of Malmesbury calls it, which, first introduced by Edward the Confessor in his new Abbey

of Westminster, followed in the wake of the Norman conquerors through the length and breadth of the land.

"The only question that can arise concerning them is their date,—whether they are præ-Norman in age as well as præ-Norman in style. On this point one of our greatest living authorities both on history and on architecture, and especially on architecture as illustrating history, and illustrated by history, Mr. E. A. Freeman, has again and again expressed himself with unquestioning decisiveness, and his decision has been hitherto unquestioningly accepted. Those who are familiar with Mr. Freeman's writings, especially his *Norman Conquest*, and his *Towns and Districts*, will remember that he assigns these towers a date subsequent to the Conquest, and regards them as the work of a certain Colswezen, who is mentioned in *Domesday* as having received land outside Lincoln from the Conqueror, on which he built thirty houses and two churches for their inhabitants. I will give Mr. Freeman's own words:¹ 'From the Conqueror he (Colswezen) received as a grant a piece of land *beyond the river*, on which, at the time of the *Survey*, thirty houses, the beginning of the lower town, had risen; and for their inhabitants he built two churches, churches which stand high above all the other buildings of shire and city in deep and thrilling interest.'

"The source of the interest which in Mr. Freeman's eyes so peculiarly invests them, or rather their towers, for that is all that remains of them, is the proof given by their presumed date that 'they rose under the hands of Englishmen in the ancient style of Englishmen, while minster and castle, the works of strangers, were rising above their heads in the newer style which strangers had brought with them from beyond the sea... While Remigius built his minster on the height, in the new style of his own Normandy, Colswezen still built his towers in the ancient style of England.' To omit some eloquent words as to these towers being 'witnesses of the days of England's ancient freedom', with which we are not now concerned, this gifted writer thus concludes: 'What clearer evidence can we need that Englishmen had an independent, Romanesque style before the Normans came, than the fact that Englishmen still went on building in their national style while they had but to cast up their eyes and see the works of the Normans, ecclesiastical and military, rising on the hill above them?'

"It savours of presumption to question the statements of so great a master of history, who combines in so remarkable a degree accurate research and sound judgment; but while Mr. Brock's well-tutored eye discovers in the character of the masonry and its tooling indications that these towers must have been the work of an earlier builder than Colswezen; that, in his own words they are 'of medium Saxon date, and are not so late as after the Conquest', documentary evidence (scanty, indeed, but sufficient) leads us to the conclusion that we have all been in error in identifying St. Peter's and St. Mary's with the churches erected by Colswezen, and that these churches stood in a different part of the city altogether.

"It will be observed that Mr. Freeman does not bring forward a single tittle of documentary evidence for this presumed identification.

¹ *Towns and Districts*, p. 210.

The evidence is simply architectural. He finds it recorded in *Domesday* that Colswegen built two churches, and he finds two churches in Lincoln with towers in the style which he pleases himself in thinking Colswegen as a loyal Englishman (accepting, it is true, the grants of the Conqueror, but scorning the new fashions which he and his Normans had introduced) would have chosen for his new buildings, and without inquiring any further, at once, on this insufficient evidence, he identifies the one with the other.

“Now in what direction does documentary evidence point? Let us first look at *Domesday*, and see what that says. I quote from Mr. C. Gower Smith’s translation, p. 4. We read thus: ‘Colswain has in the city of Lincoln four tofts of land.....and outside the city he has thirty-six houses and two churches, to which nothing belongs, he having built them on the same uncultivated land which the King gave him, and which was never before built upon.’ There is nothing in this passage to indicate in what part of the suburbs of the city the land granted to Colswegen lay. The words in the passage quoted above from Mr. Freeman’s *Towns and Districts*, ‘a piece of land *beyond the river*’, have no place in the record. On which side of the river Colswegen built his houses and churches the *Survey* is entirely silent. One was hardly prepared for such an example of ‘begging the question’ in a writer generally so careful and so trustworthy. ‘*Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.*’ But let this pass.

“*Domesday* saying nothing as to the situation of Colswegen’s grant, we must look elsewhere for indications of its position. The late Mr. Ross, whose History of Lincoln (still unhappily only in manuscript) is one of the chief treasures of Lord Oxenbridge’s library at Burton Hall, states as an unquestionable fact that the land bestowed on Colswegen was ‘the Eastern Morass’ on the north bank of the river. Unhappily it was not Mr. Ross’ habit to give references to his authorities, and it may be objected that he may have been, like Mr. Freeman, only expressing an hypothesis which had nothing solid to stand on. But not to say that Mr. Ross was as far as possible from being a man likely to indulge in theories, however attractive, but a painstaking, honest investigator, with materials at command for the history of the city, which, through the unhappy loss (I trust only temporary) of the whole of the old Corporation Record-Books, are no longer available, and that his statements, when tested, prove to be perfectly reliable, there is actual historical evidence confirmatory of what he says.

“The ‘Eastern Morass’ he speaks of was the tract of swampy ground on the north bank of the Withan, eastward of the boundaries of the city (now entirely built over), lying between the present ‘Monks’ Road’ and the river. Here stood two churches, St. Peter’s-by-the-Pump and St. Austin’s-at-Baggerholms, which Mr. Ross states to have been those erected by Colswegen. As both of these churches, in consequence of the decay of the city, were demolished early in the sixteenth century, there are no architectural data for testing this statement. Its truth, however, is abundantly proved by the fact that one of the churches, that of St. Peter-by-the-Pump, together with a large tract of land, were given by Colswegen’s son, Picot, to the Abbey of St. Mary at York, which had a cell dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, still further to the east, on the banks of the Witham, of which some remains are still standing, popularly known as ‘Monks’ Abbey’. The

church was served either by the Prior of the cell or some vicar nominated by him. The last vicar was one Bracebridge, in 1446, to whom no successor was appointed, the parish having become destitute of people. The other church, St. Austin's, also fell into decay from the same cause, and, as I have said, was taken down in 1533-4.

"I think it will be allowed that this gift of land and a church in this particular locality, to St. Mary's Abbey, by Picot, Colswegen's son, establishes the truth of Mr. Ross's identification of the Conqueror's grant with the 'Eastern Morass', and of the churches built by him with those named above ; and while it unhappily demolishes Mr. Freeman's hypothesis which he has put forth with such attractive eloquence, and which has been so generally credited (by myself among others), removes what might have appeared an otherwise insuperable obstacle to our hearty acceptance of Mr. Brock's verdict as to the præconquestal date of the existing towers."

SKETCH OF EARLY SCOTTISH HISTORY.

BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(*Concluded from Vol. xlv, p. 361.*)

THE events of the ninth and tenth centuries in Scotland have a cloud cast over them by the Norwegians, who, from being at first desultory invaders of the Scottish shores, became afterwards possessors of the Orkney and Shetland islands, and of large territories on the northern and western coasts, with the Western Islands, and as far south as the Isle of Man and Anglesey, besides founding a kingdom in Dublin. The exploits of the famous Rayner Lodbrog and his sons fill many a dismal page of history. This sea-king was killed by Ella, King of Northumbria, who in turn was slain by Ingwar and Ubbo, two of the sons, who amply revenged their father's death.

We leave without regret the savage deeds and manners of the sea-kings, though the atrocities of Rayner Lodbrog are, perhaps, exaggerated in the recital of Saxo Grammaticus, who in his ninth chapter gives the details of how he carved out the figure of a spread-eagle on the back of an enemy, by dividing the flesh at the spine, and drawing out the liver from the palpitating corpse. Civilising schools for the rising generations were, indeed, needed at the time when the early Christians were so zealous in establishing them.

If the contemporaneous narratives of events in Scotland before the time of Malcolm Canmore are shadowy, there exist relics of those times which are very telling as interpreted by many authors of late years, that is, the charters and other manuscripts of the monasteries; the ancient buildings round the coast, vulgarly known as "Picts' houses"; the stone circles, chambered and other barrows or hows; and in succession, the crosses with their rude sculptures and symbolical devices. This class of antiquities has been fully illustrated in the long series of the Rhind Lectures year by year. An excellent description of the Maes-How, in the Orkneys, will be found

in vol. ii, *Collectanea Archæologica*, of this Association. The Runic inscriptions with which the walls are covered are therein interpreted, and make it probable that this royal-burial-place was used by the sons of Rayner Lodbrog both as a sepulchre and strong room for the custody of treasure; and the same uses appear to have been given to it by Christian chiefs in later times.¹

Reverting to the sketch of Scottish history. Kenneth II was succeeded by Donald, a brother; and he, again, by Constantine, a nephew, in 858. Gregory reigned eighteen years, in the days of the Athelstan of England who had been baptized by Alfred of Wessex. Donald, son of Constantine, was crowned at Scone in 892, and was succeeded, in 903, by the Constantine who was defeated at the battle of Brunanburgh, where some say he was killed, while others make him to have retired to the Monastery of St. Andrew's, and to have become Abbot there, where he was buried in 943.

Malcolm I, son of Donald, reigned nine years, and made a treaty with Edmund of England, who ceded to him the whole of Wales on condition of his aid against the Danes, and also of his doing homage to England for Cumbria. This treaty was afterwards renewed by Edgar of England with Kenneth, son of Malcolm, and brother of Duff, in 970; so that the peace between England and Scotland, begun under Edmund, continued for one hundred and twenty years or more, till the time of William the Conqueror.

Malcolm II, son of Kenneth, succeeded to the crown in 1004, and reigned thirty years; his grandson, Duncan, attaining the crown in 1034. Malcolm had waged a long contest with Canute, and was treacherously murdered.

Duncan reigned nine years, leaving two sons,—Malcolm, surnamed Canmore, and Donald Bane. The latter was appointed Governor of the province of Cumbria. When Duncan was murdered by Macbeth, his two sons had to take refuge with Edward the Confessor in England during Macbeth's reign of seventeen years; but finally the eldest of the exiled princes, Malcolm Canmore,

¹ *Collectanea Archæologica*, B. A. A., vol. ii, p. 1, "Maes-Howe," by T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Vice-President and Treasurer.

aided by Macduff, Thane of Fife, advanced with an army to Dunsinane, and defeated Macbeth; who, however, continued the struggle for four years, and was killed at Lumphanan, in the Valley of the Dee, in 1057. Shakespeare has thus, in his famous tragedy, slightly altered the account of Fordun.

On the death of Macbeth, Duncan's son took possession of the throne as Malcolm III, and was crowned at Scone in April 1057.

This period of two centuries, which has been rapidly glanced at, shows a gradual unification of the country under the influence of its kings and bishops; and in the latter part of the period begins the struggle between England and Scotland towards amalgamation of the two countries, consequent upon intermarriages between the families of the kings as well as of the chieftains on both sides of the border. The daughter of Siward, Earl of Northumberland, married Duncan, King of Scotland, Siward having assisted him to mount the throne.

From the date of Malcolm III, through a period of two hundred and fifty-seven years, twelve sovereigns filled the throne of Scotland. Malcolm reigned thirty-six years, and the kings after him, who had longer reigns than usual, and therefore are more distinguished in history, were--David I reigning twenty-nine years; William the Lion, forty-nine; Alexander II, thirty-five; Alexander III, forty.

Malcolm had the advantage of contracting a marriage, in 1067, with Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, the only remaining heir to the English throne of the Anglo-Saxon line, and by her he had six sons,—Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, Alexander, and David; also two daughters,—Matilda the Good, who in 1100 married Henry I of England; and Maria, who married Eustace, Count of Boulogne.

The interweaving of family links in the royal families of the British Isles, as well as into those of the continent of Europe, receives further development after the time of the three grandchildren of the above-named David I, that is, Malcolm IV, 1153-65; William surnamed the Lion, 1165-1214; and David, who was Earl of Huntingdon, but did not reign.

The descendants of William the Lion were the two Alexanders, Second and Third, who each had long reigns in succession ; and the latter married Margaret, sister of Edward I of England. Her granddaughter, known as the Maid of Norway, was the last in direct succession of the line of Alexander III. The troubles as to the succession were brought on by the death of the Maid of Norway in 1291, when the rivalry was introduced between the descendants of two out of the three daughters of David Earl of Huntingdon, the younger brother of William the Lion ; for though the third married Lord Hastings, who was also another candidate for the throne, his claim was not much considered. These two daughters were Margaret and Isabella. Margaret married Alan of Galloway, and they had two daughters,—Dervorgilla, who married John Baliol, and founded Baliol College, Oxford,—her husband died in the lifetime of Alexander III; and Margery, who married John Cumyn. They had a son John, who was the Red Cumyn killed by Robert Bruce at Dumfries.

John Baliol, the son of Dervorgilla, became King of Scotland, by the award of Edward I, in 1292, and his son Edward was the last male heir of the line of Baliol, who claimed the crown in 1332.

Isabella, the second daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon, married Robert de Brus (or Bruce), whose grandson was Robert Earl of Carrick, the father of Robert Bruce, who became King of Scotland in 1306.

I have had to introduce these well-known genealogies as a prelude to the struggles for the crown and feuds of the great families, which have rendered Scottish history a solemn caution to succeeding generations, yet calling forth some of the best as well as the worst qualities of human nature, and on which account almost every inch of ground is rendered classical by the thrilling interest attaching to it, and by the skill of writers who have known how to throw a poetic charm even over events which in their nakedness could only have excited horror.

We cannot but admire the Christian piety and benevolence which have endeared the memory of Malcolm Canmore and his irreproachable Queen to the nation. Queen Margaret, driven into exile from England, in 1066, with

her sister and brother, landed in a bay named after her St. Margaret's; and the passage across the Forth, still called Queen's Ferry, became the usual place of transit of the Queen to Dunfermline, where was her residence. The royal pair were married in 1067.

The Monastery of Dunfermline was founded by Queen Margaret for Benedictines, and finished by Alexander; was changed into an Abbey by David I, who brought into it thirteen monks from Canterbury, and endowed it with the tithe of all the gold found in Fife and Fotherif. It was burnt in 1303, in the time of Edward I, except the church and cells; but the building of Malcolm Canmore's time no longer exists, though there are piers and round arches in the nave, not unlike those of Durham and Lindisfarne. Queen Margaret also rebuilt the Monastery of Iona, which the Norsemen had laid in ruins, and she established also *hospices* on both sides of the Forth for rest and refreshment of pilgrims resorting to the shrine of St. Andrew.

Malcolm having been killed at Alnwick in 1093, was first buried at Tynemouth. His remains were removed in 1160 to Dunfermline, where his wife was also buried, as well as their three sons, who became successively Kings of Scotland as Edgar, Alexander I, and David I. Here was also the place of interment of Malcolm IV, Alexander III, and Robert Bruce. This seems to be the only Benedictine foundation recorded in Scotland, except a cell of this establishment at Urchart.

The alliances of the two Matildas—one the daughter of Matilda the Scot and Henry I of England, and the other daughter of Maria the Scot and Eustace Count of Boulogne—implicated the King of Scots in the troubles of the English succession in the reign of King Stephen, as he took up the cause of his niece, the ex-Empress, and her son Henry, who was sent to be knighted by King David at Carlisle, though his other niece, Matilda, daughter of Maria, was married to King Stephen. Having taken up arms against this King, David was defeated at the Battle of the Standard, at Northallerton, in 1138; but it was finally arranged that Prince Henry, son of King David, should do homage to Stephen for the earldom of Huntingdon, and he was to hold Northumbria

free. Prince Henry was married to Ida, daughter of the elder William de Warrenne, and sister of the younger.

King David, among the Scottish kings, bore the palm for founding churches and monasteries. It appears by a list of religious establishments furnished by Mr. W. de Gray Birch to our *Journal* (vol. xxvii, pp. 241 *et seqq.*) from a MS. not previously published, that there were sixty abbeys and priories, and twelve convents of nuns, in the kingdom, out of which King David had founded ten, besides one at Newcastle-on-Tyne. He was present at the consecration of Glasgow Cathedral. At Carlisle he built a strong keep, and raised the height of the city walls. He died there in 1153, the year after the death of his son Prince Henry.

Malcolm IV was only in his twelfth year when he succeeded his grandfather David. His youth seems to have laid him very much open to the machinations of Henry II of England; but his reign was memorable for a great victory over Somerled, in the Clyde, who was killed at Renfrew.

The King died in 1165, and was succeeded by William the Lion, who seems to have been drawn into the dissensions raised in England between Henry II and his rebellious sons, and had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the English King, and sent into France, which cost him the feudal subjection of his kingdom to Henry II, with a salvo for the royal prerogative. Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were to be given up, and held as security for fulfilment of the agreement; and David Earl of Huntingdon, the King's brother, and twenty principal barons of Scotland, were also to be given up as hostages. William came in also for an ecclesiastical dispute with the Holy See as to the election of a Bishop of St. Andrew's, which was ultimately settled by agreement that the two candidates, Hugh and John Scot, should both be Bishops; the former of St. Andrew's, and the latter of Dunkeld. The chair of St. Peter was then filled by Adrian IV, an Englishman, well acquainted with Scottish affairs. William returned to Scotland in 1175, and had to submit to the feudal restraints until they were relinquished by Richard I; but King John made a difficulty about the three northern counties of England.

William died at Stirling on the 4th of December 1214, in the seventy-third year of his age, and left by his Queen, Ermengarde, one son, Alexander, who succeeded him, and three daughters,—Margaret, who married Hubert de Burgh; Isabella, who married Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk; and Margery, who married Gilbert Earl of Pembroke. He founded and richly endowed, in 1178, the great Abbey of Arbroath, and dedicated it to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Alexander II ascended the throne in his seventeenth year. He married the Princess Joan, eldest daughter of King John of England, and after her death, on 4th March 1238, he married Mary de Courci. The King died of a fever at Kerrara, opposite the Bay of Oban, on 8th July 1249, in the fifty-first year of his age.

Alexander III, son of the late King by his last wife, Mary de Courci, succeeded to the throne, and a curious treaty made with Henry III of England is given in Rymer (i, p. 428) and Matthew Paris (p. 646). The King was only ten years old, and Henry considered the opportunity a good one for subordinating Scotland to his rule. The young King was clever enough, acting under advice, to avoid the snares set for him, and knew how to preserve the independence of his country, though the Scots thought he was too intimate with a foreign King.

Scotland was placed under an interdict, which was pronounced by the Bishop of Dunblane and the Abbots of Jedburgh and Melrose in the Abbey Church of Cambuskenneth. The Cumyns were a very powerful family. There were no less than thirty-two knights and three earls of the name, and they were powerful enough to take the King and Queen prisoners, and send them to Stirling. The political intrigues of the time are not easy to disentangle. Henry III of England had become father-in-law to the King of Scotland by the marriage of Alexander with the Princess Margaret, his daughter, at York.

When the King and Queen of Scotland visited England, a child was born to them at Windsor in February 1261, named Margaret, who afterwards married Eric of Sweden. This did not prevent Haco, King of Norway, from coming to Scotland in a hostile manner to try to enforce his sovereignty over the Western Isles, which had

hitherto been of a dubious character. The defeat of Haco was the great achievement of Alexander's reign.

An incident at this time, entailing important consequences in the future, was when Robert de Brus was riding through the domain of Turnberry, belonging to Margery Countess of Carrick, and this lady, like another Dido invited Æneas to hunt with her. They hunted, and were married, and thus the father of the future King Robert Bruce became Lord of Carrick.

Alexander attended the coronation of Edward I. They were both in their thirty-fourth year. These little incidents lead up to events of importance in the stormy period which followed.

On the death of the Queen, Alexander married Juliette, daughter of the Comte de Dreux ; but his reign terminated in 1286 by a fatal accident. His horse fell over the cliff between Burnt Island and Kinghorn, in Fife ; and on his leaving no direct heirs, the troubles in Scotland began, not soon to terminate. A regency of six guardians was appointed.

The negotiations and arrangements of Edward I as to the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Maid of Norway, who was the next heir to the throne of Scotland, can be seen in the public documents published in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and are very interesting ; but the scheme was blown to the winds by the death of the betrothed on the voyage between her own country and the Orkneys. She is represented as shipwrecked on an old map of the thirteenth century, to which I referred in a paper read at the Llangollen Congress.¹ Her death thwarting the calculations of Edward, brought forward many candidates for the crown of Scotland ; but Bruce and Baliol were the principal after the murder of the Red Cumyn at Dumfries.

Events now crowd upon the page of history too thickly to be related here. We have traced through many reigns since Malcolm Canmore, the binding together of the royal and other families of the two kingdoms, and the continual efforts of the English monarchs, by means of these alliances, to make Scotland a feudatory kingdom, if not to annex it to England. The powerful nobles in both

¹ *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxv, p. 39.

countries had estates in each, and the feudal ties and services were a bond which could not be broken without a breach of what then was considered a most sacred as well as moral obligation. Hence the reluctance of the Bruces, father and son, at first to break out in open hostility against Edward I in support of their claim to the crown.

But what neither diplomacy nor the support of a large feudal following could settle, was brought about by the strength of character and patriotism of one hero, who seemed born for the occasion. This was William Wallace, second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace, Knight, of Ellerslie, near Renfrew. He cared not for boundaries nor for feudal services; he knew his own land of Scotland to be the land of his birth and of his King; he would have Bruce to reign, and not Baliol, who was the nominee of a foreign Sovereign. A private crime against himself, though partly atoned for by his own revenge on the author of it, yet made his blood boil as long as he lived. His young wife had been killed by an English sheriff, and he had killed the sheriff. He now gave himself up wholly to the almost hopeless task of braving the hosts of Edward I by stirring up the Scottish nobles and people to maintain the rights of Robert Bruce and the cause of Scottish freedom.

After the proceedings at Berwick, at the summons of King Edward of England, Baliol was adjudged King, and crowned at Scone on St. Andrew's Day, 1292. The great Earl of Surrey occupied Dunbar, having sent his nephew, Henry Percy, before him into Scotland with a large army. Though Sir William Douglas and the Bishop of Glasgow, the firm supporters of Wallace, were induced to submit, he himself would never agree to the terms proposed by the Treaty of Irvine, though pressed to do so by many of the nobles. Wallace called up his men, formed a party, and after gaining a victory at Stirling, Berwick submitted to him.

Edward had to absent himself from England through affairs on the Continent, and Wallace was made Guardian of the Kingdom by the Scots. On the return home of the King of England, after he had made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. John of Beverley, whose standard had

been carried in former wars, he proceeded in person into Scotland with a large army.

Robert Bruce maintained a suspicious neutrality. Anthony Bec, Bishop of Durham, invests the strong castle of Dirleton, which finally surrenders, and when Edward encamped at Linlithgow, the Scottish army amounted to only one-third of the English. The Bishop of Durham's cavalry were fiery and impetuous. Thirty-six banners floated over a mass of spears, and the Scottish cavalry had to retire. The death of Sir John Stuart of Bonkyl, who fell from his horse, sent dismay through the ranks ; and Macduff, with his vassals from Fife, were slain ; and Wallace had to make good his retreat with the loss, some say, of 15,000 men. His party set fire to Falkirk and Stirling.

Edward's army pursued a victorious march through Scotland, robbing and burning, but at last suffered greatly from want of provisions, and the whole country beyond the Forth still remained unsubdued.

After the disaster of Falkirk, Wallace resigns the guardianship of the kingdom, and we lose sight of him in any public transaction till he fell a victim, eight years after. Baliol had been treating with the King of France, and the latter endeavours to persuade Edward, who had dethroned and imprisoned Baliol, to pardon him and the Scottish nobles ; all which Edward refuses, but sent Baliol over to France, where he remained a prisoner of war.

John Cumyn of Badenock, the younger, and John de Soulis, were made Governors of Scotland, and after some time Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's, were associated with them. In 1299 Stirling was captured by the Regents ; in 1300 Edward invades Scotland again, then summons a Parliament at Lincoln, and in 1301-2 assembles an army at Berwick, passing the winter at Linlithgow.

Edward again crosses the border, and pursues his victorious march to Aberdeen, Banff, and Kinloss. He is joined at Dunfermline by his new Queen, Margaret, sister of the King of France. He then calls a Parliament at St. Andrew's, and the summons is obeyed by the Scottish nobles, except Sir John Fraser and Wallace, who still declined a compromise.

The younger Bruce, on the death of his father in 1304, entered into possession of all his estates in England and Scotland, and then determined on taking an active part in advancing his claim. At the Minorite Friars in Dumfries he met his mortal enemy and competitor, the Red Cumyn, and there the deed was done which left Bruce the only national candidate for the throne; but his cause was badly supported by the baronage. Sir James Douglas, son of William, the fourth Lord, was his staunch champion, and he it was who afterwards carried the heart of Bruce to Jerusalem. But the cause was betrayed by Sir John Monteith, who captured William Wallace by treachery, and handed him over to Edward in England, where he was executed like a common criminal, in Smithfield, on 23rd August 1305, as a traitor to Edward, who now claimed Scotland by right of conquest. But though Wallace perished, not so the cause.

Robert Bruce, crowned at Scone on the 27th of March 1306, yet had to undergo a world of trouble before the final victory at Bannockburn. Edward I swore vengeance for the death of Cumyn and the obstinate resistance to his plans. He attacks the Scottish army with a large force, defeating them totally at Methven. Bruce had to flee for his life, in a small boat, with Sir James Douglas, across Loch Lomond, and was received by Angus of Islay, lord of Cantyre, who assisted him to escape to the Isle of Rathlin, off the north coast of Ireland. The vengeance of Edward knew no bounds. The Queen of Scotland and her daughter were captured, and sent to England, where they remained in captivity eight years. Isabella, the Countess of Buchan, sister of the Earl of Fife, who had assisted at the coronation of Bruce under a prescriptive privilege which had belonged to the Earls of Fife since Malcolm Canmore's time, was shut up in a cage on one of the outer turrets of the Castle of Berwick during four years. Mary and Christina, both sisters of the Scottish King, were also captured, and the former placed in a cage on a turret of Roxburgh Castle; and Christina was delivered to Henry Percy, who shut her up in a convent. Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's, and the Abbot of Scone were taken prisoners. Robert Wishart, the valiant and patriotic Bishop of Glasgow, who had escaped

from Cupar in Fife, was sent in fetters to Nottingham. Nigel, the youthful brother of Bruce, was taken; and the Earl of Athol was hanged on a gallows 50 ft. high, because he pleaded royal blood in mitigation of a common criminal's execution. Sir Simon Fraser, the last friend and follower of Wallace, was finally captured, and hanged in London. Thomas and Alexander, two brothers of the King, were also taken and executed; and as if to fill up the cup of Bruce's misfortunes, he was excommunicated at Carlisle, and his cause now seemed desperate. But fortune's wheel took a turn in his favour by the decease of Edward I at Burgh-on-the-Sands, on his way for another campaign in Scotland. Edward died on the 7th of July 1307, his fixed purpose of subduing Scotland being yet unaccomplished.

The wanderings of Wallace and of Bruce through the country, concealing themselves and their followers, making friends as they went, and avoiding their enemies, can be read in the nearly contemporary poem of John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, written in the quaint language of his time. The caves of Scotland, many of which had served as cells of the anchorites in earlier days, afforded secure refuges to those who knew the country as well as Wallace and Bruce. The historical novelists have made ample use of the materials afforded by these stirring events. We must hurry forward seven years, to the great act of the Nemesis of Scotland, when her long score of injuries was amply retaliated on the field of Bannockburn, near Stirling.

Edward II continued the conflict inherited from his father; but in a few years the English were expelled from Scotland. Perth was captured by Bruce on the 8th of January 1312, and Linlithgow taken by stratagem. Stirling and Berwick alone remained to the English. Edward's army was to assemble at Berwick at the beginning of the year 1314, with the flower of English chivalry, for a last and desperate effort. King Robert foresaw where the battle would be, and wisely posted his men accordingly, near the Bannock Brook, about two miles from Stirling. He stationed his brother, Edward Bruce, with a reserve force westward, where the stream protected his flank. Behind them was Keith, the Lord-Marshal. In

the van were the three main bodies of the army, the King commanding the centre.

Three bow-shots off the deep front of the English army had halted, and stood in council, debating as to whether the strife should commence the same night or on the following morning. Edward II commanded them in person, and observing the Bruce in front of his battle array, gave the signal for Sir Harry Bohun to attack him single-handed, which was no sooner said than done; and De Bohun, with spear couched, dashed at the Bruce, who adroitly stepped aside, and when his antagonist swerved round to renew the attack, the Bruce, rising in his stirrups, dealt him such a blow with his battleaxe that his helmet was split in two, with his skull, and the King's weapon was shivered in his hand. The horse, startled, sprang from the blow, and De Bohun fell to the ground a lifeless corpse. Then Douglas and Earl Randolph have a skirmish with a body of the enemy who had wheeled round on their flank, and it is reported that Dayncourt was slain by the valiant Randolph. No more was attempted that night, when the moon was shining through a cloudless sky in June, upon the field and upon old Stirling's towers.

At early morn Earl Gloucester waved his truncheon to begin the fight, and this was the signal for the English archers, who were both skilful and numerous, to pour down thousands of arrows upon the devoted Scots. This was their practice, and then to follow up the attack with large bodies of cavalry; but Bruce forestalled them, and sent his own bodies of cavalry to overwhelm the archers, who were no longer armed or able to resist. To the right of this part of the field was a level space, over which the English cavalry galloped to the attack; but Bruce had also foreseen this manœuvre, and had caused pits to be dug, armed with spikes, and lightly covered over with turf, so that horseman and horse are precipitated headlong into the pits; and the confusion is increased by those coming after, and falling in a confused mass over the bodies of their companions and horses.

The victory was complete. The English retreated in disorder, and Scotland was free. Sir Walter Scott, with

the felicity of a poet, supplements his brilliant account of the battle by the following stanzas :—

“Through Ninian’s church these torches shone,
And rose the death-prayer’s awful tone :
That yellow lustre glimmer’d pale
On broken plate and bloodied mail,
Rent crest and shatter’d coronet
Of baron, earl, and banneret ;
And the best names that England knew
Claim’d in the death-prayer dismal due.”

King Robert finally addresses the Lord of the Isles as follows :—

“Then must we call the Church to aid,—
Our will be to the Abbot known :
Ere these strange news are wider blown
To Cambuskenneth straight ye pass,
And deck the church for solemn Mass,
To pay, for high deliverance given,
A nation’s thanks to gracious Heaven !”¹

¹ *Lord of the Isles*, Canto vi, 35-37.

THE NAME OF GLASGOW, AND THE HISTORY OF CUMBRIA.

BY MISS RUSSELL.

THE name of Glasgow, like the more, or at least longer, disputed name of Glastonbury, is probably explained by the occurrence of *Glas* for church. In Bishop Forbes' *Kalendar of the Scottish Saints*, article "Canicus", it is mentioned that a copy of the Gospels, made by St. Cainnech, Abbot of Achaboc (who might be, but I do not think ever is, called St. Kenneth), was kept at Glas-Kaneche,—unmistakably some church dedicated to him. It is evidently a form of the Celtic *lios*, *les*, *las*, *lis* (church, garden, or court), and closely related to the Welsh and English *plas* and *place*. While, as I observe, Murray's *Handbook to North Wales* interprets the name of Maes Glas,¹ in Flintshire, as meaning "cloister-field", I have some doubts whether this way of rendering a Celtic sound of *l* is quite disused in Wales, though *glas* is not to be found in this sense in the ordinary Welsh dictionary.

Glasgow, as it stands, is probably a contraction of *Glas-Min-Cu*, Mungo's church. The *soubriquet* by which alone the Saint is known in the Scotch vernacular meant something like "the gracious one", though this is not exactly dictionary Welsh either.

Glastonbury has, of course, had two Saxon syllables, both so far equivalents, as implying "enclosure", piled on to the original Celtic name.

Dr. Joyce, in his most interesting and suggestive work on Irish place-names, says that *glas* or *glaise* often means "a stream" in Ireland; but I have a suspicion that in these certainly very numerous cases the name has originally applied to the church or other settlement on the stream. In some it is pretty clear it did. See *Celtic Scotland*, by W. F. Skene, vol. ii, p. 57, for three cases.

In the newspaper notices of the paper by Mr. Black on

¹ The name of the site of Basingwerk Abbey.

the name of Glasgow, read by him at one of the meetings of the Association there, he is at least represented as saying that the Cymri were expelled from Strathclyde by the *Gael* after Kentigern's time. This is quite new to me, and it seems to have been equally unknown to Mr. Skene when he edited *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, or wrote his history of early Scotland. I am inclined to think it must have originated in a reckless and intemperate use of the admirable Ordnance Maps. The Celtic names remaining in the districts which composed Scottish Cumbria, say the valleys of the Tweed, Clyde, and Annan, are more frequently Gaelic than Welsh; but besides the probability that the Cumbrians, or part of them, may have been driven north into a country previously Gaelic by the pressure of the Roman invasion and other causes, the curious fact of their being more Celtic names of both classes in the coast-counties (Berwickshire and the three Lothians) than among the hills, shows that statistics of this kind are not to be trusted too far, for they had belonged to Northumbria for three centuries before Cumbria ceased to be independent. Of course the population may have remained at least partly Celtic, though I think the explanation probably is that the coast-districts were fully settled, and the names put on record, at an earlier time than those inland.

The only circumstance in history at all like the alleged Gaelic conquest is the abandonment of the country north of the southern Roman Wall, on the departure of the Romans, by Cunedda, the Guledic, or chief, elected to the command of the northern Cymri, and the occupation of that district by the Picts; and this, of course, was more than a century before Kentigern's time.

As one of the leading Scotch papers said some time ago, when reviewing a work on Celtic antiquities, Mr. Skene has shown, beyond reasonable doubt, that the Picts were the old Gael of the country, the main ancestors of the present Highlanders. But in any case it is only the south-east of Scotland that lies north of the southern Wall. Scotland trends so much to the west that Edinburgh, on the east coast, is actually to the west of Carlisle.

It seems to have been these eastern districts which

were retaken by Arthur the Guledic in the sixth century. His exploits, and particularly his partial conquest of Scotland, go a long way towards filling up the blank between the withdrawal of the last legion in or about 409, and the coming of Ida to Northumbria in 547; or in Scotch literature, between Ninian and Columba; especially as Arthur's history in some degree involves that of his predecessors, Uthyr and Ambrosius.

The authorities for both Cunedda and Arthur, as distinguished from numerous allusions elsewhere, are Nennius and his continuators; and there are two important reasons, of different kinds, for not setting Nennius aside. First, that there seems no reason to doubt the *Chronicle* parts of Nennius more than any other chronicle, and that the authority of them is considerably re-enforced by the observation that more than one of the early Abbots of Whithorn is called *Nennio*. As it is now known for certain¹ that *Patricius* was the designation of the Archbishop of Armagh,—not apparently as the successor of the great St. Patrick, whose baptismal name is a matter of doubt, but of the earlier founder of the mission,—it is evident that Nennius was an Abbot of Whithorn, or Candida Casa, the successor of Ninian. Probably Mark the Anchorite held the office.

And what more directly corroborates the information of the writer is his calling Hatfield, near Doncaster, where Edwin was killed, *Meiceu*. *Migeu* is a Welsh word for marsh; and here it is evidently the descriptive name of the place. An enormous marsh at Hatfield has been gradually drained in the last two centuries; and it must have been already there in 633, as it must have been caused by the felling of the trees by the Romans. A few Roman coins, and many trees felled and squared, were found on the old surface below the moss. Among these trees, remarkably enough, the Scotch fir, now supposed not to grow wild south of the Firth of Forth.

Secondly, Nennius and the documents appended are all we have, in the way of history, for the period after the Romans, before mentioned. How little the *Saxon Chronicle* is good for in the early Saxon period is shown by a curious misstatement, which may also contain or lead to an im-

¹ See Stokes' *Ireland and the Celtic Church*.

portant fact. It makes the death of St. Martin¹ from thirty-five to forty-seven years later than any other authority, and brings it to 444, the year, nearly, of the famous letter to Ætius, "The Groans of the Britons." From this I infer that, whenever it was exactly, *the landing of Hengist in England coincided, as to year, with the death of St. Martin in France.*

The name of Caer Guorthigirn in the Nennius list of cities, Garth Geraint, shows how Gerontius turned into Vortigern.²

That Soemil, the great-grandfather of Ida, first divided Deira from Northumbria, as stated in the pedigree given by Bede, shows, in a way not liable to suspicion, how early the Saxons were settled in the country.

Ida established himself at Bamborough³ in 547, from five to ten years after the dates given for the battle of Camlan; and if Arthur's battle of Camlan was fought, not in the non-existent Lyonesse, but at Camelon, on the northern Roman Wall (now part of Falkirk), in 537 or 542, the weakening of the Celtic powers by the result of the battle, and the dissensions which had led to and followed it, accounts rather satisfactorily for the pressing northwards of the northern Saxons.⁴ They had probably been rather driven back by Uthyr and Arthur.

And these circumstances, I have little doubt, were the same which drove Kentigern out of Scotland.

¹ I see it mentioned that Clinton makes the death of St. Martin as early as 469.

² The place meant seems to be Maryport in Cumberland, a great Roman locality.

³ When at Bamborough lately I was even more surprised than pleased to see the old *hedge* in use there still, the true *zareeba* of dead hawthorn branches regularly arranged. It is not now round the Castle, but round a large sand-hole in the links, to keep the sheep out. I never saw it anywhere else, though I have seen branches supported by sods, making a temporary division in a field; and the old Scotch turf-dyke was finished with branches. Ida, or whoever had the Castle before him, must have made earthworks to stick the branches in, for the rock would not hold them. Many old earthworks were probably constructed entirely to support the hedge. The old name of "Quikheg" (the live hedge) for some land belonging to Dryburgh Abbey, shows that fences about 1150 were usually of dead branches.

⁴ Constantine, who seems to have succeeded Arthur as Guledic, is said to have put to death both the sons of Medraw in cold blood. This was long after Camlan.

The British leaders on both sides were killed at Camlan, and Gwydyon ap Don, a Cymric chief with Gaelic blood, appears to have retained the ascendancy in the east of Scotland, in command of an army of heathen Picts, who seem to have inspired the Welsh bards with the greatest disgust and distrust. But so far was this from being a Gaelic conquest, that both Gwydyon and Llew, the Welsh King of Lothian, father of Medrawd, appear in the very miscellaneous lists of the *Kings of the Picts*; the former as Giudid Gaethbrechach, Gwydyon of the Cathbreacau, or plaided warriors; the latter as Morleo, Leo the Great, and Brud Leo; *Brud* and *Bred* being apparently a nasal pronunciation of *Bren*, king or judge. Theodoric, son of Ida, is supposed to appear in the same lists, in the form of Dectotreic, *frater Tiu*; that is, the brother of Tyr, the god of war: which shows that Kemble was right in his supposition that the reason why Dietrich of Berne (Theodoric of Verona) pervades German legend in the way he does, is that he was partly identified with an old deity of the name; for here we have the divine association following the name to Northumbria.¹ The Picts would, no doubt, coalesce with the Saxons, as they, curiously enough, seem to have done from the first, and continued to do as long as both people were heathen.

And this is exactly the state of things which eventually drove Kentigern out of Scotland. We may fairly suppose he held his ground as long as possible. But it concerns chiefly the east of Scotland.

Kentigern's earlier connection with Glasgow is probably as fictitious as the rest of his early history; part of which, making him the pupil of a well-known Saint who belongs to a later century, is impossible; and which seems to have been composed, like dozens of other legends, for the purpose of bringing a British Saint into conformity

¹ Kemble gained something by living in Germany; but he lost a great deal more. Anybody from the east of England could have told him that the *ing* of English place-names was not likely, in most cases, to be a sign of the patronymic, but the word for river-side meadow, still in full use as a *separate word* in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. *Eng* is simply a meadow in Danish. The word is, no doubt, remotely related to the Celtic *inch* (island, peninsula) or *ing*. The last meaning, the Scotch *lough*, is not common. But Kemble's *tree* is probably generally the Cymric *tref* (township). I see it spelt in one case as *treu*.

with the customs of the Irish Church, in which the monastery was part of the clan-system, and the abbot always a relation either of the chief or of the actual founder of the monastery.

An incongruous fact crops up in connection with one of the Kentigern crosses. They were, no doubt, erected long after his time; but the statement that he spent eight years at Lochorward, or Borthwick, twelve miles south of Edinburgh, probably accounts for his whole grown-up life before the battle of Camlan.¹ The historical narrative probably begins with Kentigern's work in Cumberland; and his knowing about the human Odin, and evidently preaching in Saxon, are much more like an ecclesiastic from Lothian than one from Strathclyde. He is said to have been a bishop at twenty-five.

He suddenly becomes quite historical on settling at Llanelwy, for the endowment of the monastery in that charming locality, by Maelgwn Gwynned, Mailcon of Gwynedd, North Wales, is documentary. The *caves* are there still, in the limestone hills, though there is none now at the place called Diserth, or Retreat, where the rocks are much quarried.

Asa or Asaph, Kentigern's successor at Llanelwy, or St. Asaph, is said to have been a son of Sawyl Penuchel, and therefore, as the legend would make Kentigern, a descendant of Coel; but it seems unlikely to be true. Sawyl was brother of Dunawd Vawr, one of the chiefs who conspired against Urien, and who turns up afterwards in Saxon history as the Dinooth Abbas who was killed, with his monks, at Chester. Sawyl does not seem to have been implicated in the murder; but he had to leave Cumbria, as well as his brother; and I think I trace him at Penselwood in Somersetshire. Two of the varying names that seem to stand for that place are Pen-uchel-coit and Pen-sauel-coit, and there is a Zeal's House to the east of it. Sawyl retired eventually into Bangor Iscoed, Dunawd's Monastery, and is remembered as St. Sawyl or Zeal.

I do not think there is any exact date for Urien's

¹ In Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils of the British Church* these eight years are, by an oversight, transferred to Hoddam in Dumfriesshire.

murder, but it was towards the end of the sixth century; and the alleged relationship would make Asaf the head of the great community of Llanelwy some five-and-twenty years before the events which drove his father and uncle from the north.

Kentigern's sojourn at Hodclam, near the present border, may possibly indicate a hesitation on the part of King Rhydderch as to whether Dumbarton or Carlisle should be the seat of government after the battle of Ardderyd, which replaced the elective authority of the Guledic by the hereditary authority of the Kings of Alclyde or of Cumbria in 573.

As to the history of Cumbria after Kentigern's time, the account of Oswy having made the Britons tributary, apparently after the battle of Winaed, in 655, does not affect the Gael; and the northern Britons recovered their independence in 685, after the battle of Dunnichen, in which his son Egfrid was defeated and killed, apparently in the attempt to assert a claim to the Pictish throne through his mother. The name of Oswy's first wife shows her to have been a Pictish lady, though apparently not in the line of succession.

In the eighth century the deaths of several kings of Cumbria, or of Alclyde as they were called, are chronicled. The son of one of them became King of the Picts through his mother.

Under 875, the *Saxon Chronicle* states that one Thorstein the Red made expeditions against the "Pehtas" and "Straecled Wealas"; that is, probably he found the pastures of Galloway and the shores of the Clyde the localities best worth plundering at the time.

Kenneth Mac Alpin, a chief of Scottish Dalriad descent, who made himself master of the Pictish kingdom, to which he apparently asserted some claim, and who is the ancestor (on the Scottish side) of our present royal family, was succeeded by a brother, and then by two sons; but the first grandson who succeeded was a son of the King of Cumbria, who had married Kenneth's daughter. This was in 878.

A Welsh statement that in 890, the men of the north (the northern Britons) were driven out of Strathclyde by the Saxons, or had to unite with them, I would explain

as referring to the actual valley of the Clyde, or part of it. The centre of the country need not have been much affected. It is quite certain that those who left Strathclyde for Wales at this time were genuine Cymri.

In 908 the royal line of Rhydderch and Maximus failed,—at all events so far that no prince seems to have been available to carry on the government; and the Cumbrians elected as king a brother of the Scoto-Pictish king, a descendant of Kenneth Mac Alpin. This transaction may partly account for the shape taken by the final conquest of Cumbria. It must have been by some sort of mutual agreement that the English king overran it in 945, and made it over to the King of Scotland, apparently for the acknowledgment of homage, which seems to have been rendered by his eldest son. There was a nominal or tributary king down to 1018. Without the connivance of the Scots, the conquest of the strong country in the centre of Cumbria would have been a matter of very great difficulty.¹

An important contribution to the history (in reality) as well as the geography of Scottish Cumbria has been

¹ In 1092, when Rufus attempted to take the whole of Cumbria, it seems to have been still remembered that it was not exactly either England or Scotland. His proclamation is to "all beyond the Loedr"; and the deep valley of the Leader, which joins the Tweed, from the opposite side, some miles below the Ettrick, was in all probability the earlier frontier of the Romanised Britons. It is nearly opposite the Eildon Hills with their important Roman station. The question of homage naturally came to an end in 1092, to re-appear in a different shape in 1175.

As to the population of Scottish Cumbria, Dr. Angus Smith, among other observations about types of physiognomy, said he could nowhere see the Welsh face in Scotland, and that the Cumbrians were probably only a ruling caste, not a nation. But when in Lower Brittany for some weeks, the question forced itself on me very unexpectedly, whether the Lowland Scotch is not really the Cymric type? The Bretons are curiously unlike French, Welsh, or Highlanders, and they do not suggest the people of the east of England. They are large, powerful people on the whole, very civil; but so disinclined to talk, it is often difficult to get any information even from those who speak French easily. The hair, which I observed rather carefully, seems very uniformly dark brown. Black hair, which is so common in Wales, but which it is now acknowledged is from some ancestry akin to the Basques, and red, which is known from the classical writers to be Celtic, are much commoner in Scotland; but otherwise the people are very much alike.

made lately in Dr. David Christison's paper on the hill-forts of Peebleshire, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* for 1887. The number given there as distinctly traceable is eighty-two; and to this number I can add one or two. The situations are generally tremendously strong, in places where the water-supply can only have been from rain-storage; and from their number and size, the writer remarks, that if they were all inhabited and garrisoned at the same time, the country must then have contained a larger population than it does now, even with the manufacturing towns. They have generally no history, their histories being, no doubt, continuous with those of the nearest houses or villages. Cardrona has the British fort, the late mediæval tower, and the modern mansion-house, at different elevations. Macbeth's Castle, in which there are some remains of regular drystone masonry, instead of mere ramparts, is supposed to be the Castle of Malbeth, the Sheriff of David I's inquest or commission to inquire into the extent of the early bishopric of Glasgow.

The bishopric was undoubtedly co-extensive with the kingdom of Cumbria; and it is worth remarking that its last boundary seems *only to have been removed in the month in which the Association met at Glasgow*. The limits seem to have been—the river Derwent in Cumberland; the Clach-na-Bretan, or Stone of the Britons, in Dumbartonshire; on the west, apparently, the Devil's Dyke, a series of rude earthworks on the borders of Dumfriesshire and Galloway; and on the east a rather similar series of fortifications in the hills of Selkirkshire and Roxburghshire, called in the former "The Picts' Work Ditch", and in the latter, the "Catrail" (Battle-Fence in Welsh).

Much of it has been destroyed since it was tracked by Alexander Gordon about 1725; but there is no doubt as to its having been the boundary, on the Tweed at least, between Cumbria and Bernicia. It crosses the Tweed above the junction of the Ettrick; and Melrose, some miles below, is well known to have been in the diocese of Lindisfarne; while Traquair, some fifteen miles above it, was in the old diocese of Glasgow.

The Ettrick Forest country is so strong and secluded

that I suspect it was with a view of obliterating some remaining national differences that David founded his first abbey at Selkirk, on the Ettrick, about 1113. It was found to be a quite unsuitable locality, and the King then re-established the bishopric.

In the hills of Roxburghshire the Cymric population seems to have extended beyond the Catrail : the archdeaconry of Teviotdale was reclaimed by David for Glasgow from Durham. The great diocese was evidently worked by means of that and the archdeaconry of Stobo. In the Episcopal Church of Scotland this whole district remained under the Bishop of Glasgow until August 1888, when, owing mainly to the extreme inconvenience of the modern lines of communication, the counties of Peebles, Selkirk, and Roxburgh, were transferred to the diocese of Edinburgh. I see the expression used by the generally very judicious Ramsay of Ochtortyre, that the Scottish bishops were deprived of their sees at the Revolution. But this is a mistake. They were deprived of their endowments ; but no other type than that of diocesan Episcopacy has ever been contemplated. The diocese of Galloway had long previously been joined to that of Glasgow, while Rufus made that of Carlisle out of the southern part of that. But the Roxburghshire boundary was certainly a very old one : in fact, as the Catrail probably represented the frontier between the Selgovæ and the Otadeni, it is quite likely that the boundary which was shifted last August had been a boundary before the Romans came !

NOTES ON ROMAN ANTIQUITIES AT LINCOLN

DURING THE

LINCOLN CONGRESS.

BY C. ROACH SMITH, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.

By the kind personal assistance of the Mayor I was enabled to get a clear notion of the duplex character of *Lindum*, for in the grounds of Mr. Coningham much of the wall of the earlier town remains in good condition; and tied into it, a portion of the wall of the later town, which extended to the bank of the river, enclosing one of the cemeteries. This may be supposed; but direct evidence is shown in the mutilated figure of a Roman horse-soldier riding over and spearing a prostrate foe, which yet remains exposed, and other apparently sepulchral stones which invite examination.

Of course this extension of *Lindum* must have been, comparatively, of a late date; and it would be important to know out of which wall, the earlier or later, came some of the Roman sculptures preserved at Lincoln. From a manuscript note of Mr. Joseph Clarke, F.S.A., who visited Lincoln, and inspected the sculptures, many years since, we learn that two of these sculptures were taken out of the town wall. I am not aware that the significance of this fact has been noticed by any one of the writers on Lincoln antiquities; but you will at once see how it bears on the discoveries made in the walls of Chester and of other towns. I did not succeed in getting access to the sculptured and inscribed stones, and therefore cannot say if there be any history of their discovery attached to them. The visit of the Association will, I hope, lead to this desired information.

In what was the lower town, on the site of St. Swithin's Church, was excavated, a few years since, an altar dedicated to the *Parce*. It probably stood in a small temple, and was surmounted with figures of these goddesses, as

the altar shows that the upper part has been broken off. The lettering, well preserved and well cut, is as follows :

PARCIS .'. DEA
BVS .'. ET NV
MINIBVS .'. AVG
G .'. ANTISTIVS
FRONTINVS
CVRATOR .'. TER
AR .'. D .'. S .'. D

The interpretation admits of no doubt. It records the erection of the altar to the *Parcæ* or Fates, and to the deities of the *Augusti*, by Antistius Frontinus, who held the civic office of Curator, or Surveyor of the Lands,—those, we may infer, consecrated for religious purposes and for burials. It is only a conjecture to suggest that the *Augusti* may have been *Diocletianus* and *Maximianus*. Upon their coins we find the *Parcæ* addressed *Fatis Victricibus*, a legend which appears to be restricted to the coins of these Emperors. This inscription has been published by Precentor Venables, who gives the opinion of an eminent epigraphist that *Curator Ter.* may mean “Curator for the third time.” But this is not the Precentor’s interpretation, and it cannot be correct.

Lapidary inscriptions to these goddesses are also rare. Two were found at Carlisle ; the one simply *Parcis* ; the other, *Matribus Parcis*. See *The Roman Wall*, by Dr. Bruce, p. 406, third edit. In the same valuable work (p. 274) is engraved a sculptured stone representing Jupiter and Hercules. It is probable that this combination may refer to Diocletianus and Maximianus, the former being styled *Jovius* ; the latter, *Herculius*.

Accompanied by Mr. Compton and Mr. Sheraton, I had good opportunities of noticing how very much the buildings of Lincoln are indebted to the facing-stones of the Roman town-walls, which must have served as a quarry for ages. The western entrance to *Lindum* (discovered in 1836), of which I have an excellent lithographic engraving from a drawing by Mr. Tuke, shows the crown of a large arch, and the curtain-wall standing to a considerable height, composed wholly, in its facing, of small squared stones such as we noticed in other remains of the wall, both at the North Gate and in the grounds of Mr. Coningham before referred to.

When the advocates of a mediæval origin of the walls of Chester commenced their disagreement with my views (supported by the Association in its early days), they based their unstable convictions on the fact that as the Chester walls had no bonding courses of tiles they could not be Roman. They must have been ignorant of the walls of Lincoln, of *Isurium*, of *Caerwent*, and of other places; and as ignorant of the part construction of Roman walls out of Roman sculptures, although so many examples abound, Lincoln probably included.

One arch of the North or Newport Gate is yet standing, and one of the side-entrances for foot-passengers; but the lower portions, to the extent of some feet, are buried under accumulated earth. The modern surface is some 9 ft. above the Roman level. This is well shown by the discoveries made in the houses of Messrs. Allis and Blaze. In the cellars, preserved by the good taste of these gentlemen, is a row of the bases of large columns extending in a line through both cellars. As Mr. Brock followed me in an examination of these remains of a temple or some other public building, he will have to report on them in the *Journal*, and so I need only add that they give striking evidence of the magnitude and importance of the public edifices of *Lindum*.

Connected with the building indicated by this row of columns is a wall at the back of Mr. Blaze's premises, 3 ft. thick, some 20 ft. high, and from 30 to 40 ft. in length (by estimation). It is well preserved, and faced with small, squared stones and bonding courses of tiles,¹ similar to what is called the Mint Wall.

Among the various objects of Roman art discovered during the excavations in his cellar, Mr. Allis has preserved the name of a *Lindum* tile-maker impressed upon a tile, C. VIB. EX^o ("ex officina Caii Vibii", from the workshop of Caius Vibius); and on the rim of one of those shallow, basin-like vessels called *mortaria*, Q. SASER, the name, I believe, of a *Lindum* potter, for it does not occur in any of my lists, nor in the Continental collections published by M. H. Schuermans. Found beyond the town-boundary is an iron anchor, 4½ ft. in length, with five

¹ I tendered these gentlemen the best thanks of the Association. For an introduction to them I was indebted to our Congress Secretary.

grappling hooks. It was probably a permanent or mooring anchor.¹

The Roman sculptures and inscriptions I failed to get a guide to, nor could any one tell me where they are kept; but I have since learned that some of them are in the Cloisters of the Cathedral, where I see, on reference, the remarkable head and bust of a Roman lady, etched in vol. v, pl. xv, of my *Collectanea Antiqua*, was, and probably yet is, preserved. The sculpture of the *Dea Matres*, in the same plate, was then in the garden of Mr. Moore. A town such as Lincoln, teeming with Roman remains, surely could afford a museum and a descriptive catalogue, so that those who are willing to study them may, as far as possible, be assisted. On my former visit, Mr. Arthur Trollope and Mr. Willson were living, and through them I saw all that was to be seen, including the fine Roman sewer: a glory to the sanitary precautions of the Romans, and a shame to modern apathy.²

Some of the inscriptions at Lincoln are important as showing the names and native countries of auxiliaries in the Ninth Legion, and some of the sculptures indicate large and well-designed sepulchral monuments; but they have a further claim upon the attention of the antiquary, although no one has seemed to see or notice their significance in the special point of view to which I allude. From sketches given me by my friend Mr. Joseph Clarke, F.S.A., made during the Congress of the Archæological Institute in 1848, I find he marks two of the sculptures *as taken out of the town wall*; that is to say, they were first mutilated, and then used as building materials. I was anxious to know out of which wall; and this probably can yet be ascertained. Like that of Chester, partly built of monuments, it must be comparatively late.

Mr. Trollope's Lincoln collections are in the British Museum; Mr. Willson's probably are in the Alnwick

¹ I learn that these interesting objects have not escaped the vigilant eye of our colleague, the Rev. Dr. Hooppell, and that he has published an account of them.

² "Mr. E. T. Willson, F.S.A., possesses an iron sword with a portion of a bronze ornamented scabbard adhering to it. It was found, together with a bronze sword, in the river below Lincoln, near the place where the shield figured in vol. xxiii of the *Archæologia* was found."—*Coll. Ant.*, vol. iii, p. 68.

Museum, so well described (at the cost of the Duke of Northumberland) by the late Dr. Samuel Birch and Dr. Bruce. When at Mr. Willson's I noticed, on a so-called Samian cup, the Christian monogram. Years after, when with Dr. Bruce at Alnwick Castle, I identified this unique vessel.

A prior engagement to Mr. Clayton of Chesters forced me to leave on the third day of the Congress. When at Chesters I had the advantage of the companionship of Mr. Robert Blair, F.S.A. He rowed me across the North Tyne, a little below the Roman station, to a fragment of an inscribed rock discovered by Mr. Ridley while fishing. Unfortunately it is broken away from the upper part, which was wanting, and all we could decide about it was that the inscription was votive. It was, no doubt, cut by one of the *Cilurnum* garrison when quarrying.

I also accompanied Mr. Blair to Chollerton, to see a row of Roman monolithic columns in the church, which he had previously noticed. I agree with him that they are Roman, and that they were taken from *Cilurnum*. In the churchyard is a Roman altar turned upside down, and used for some church purpose. The walls of the church contain fragments of crosses of far earlier date than the edifice in which they are embedded.

I renewed acquaintance with *Procolitia* and the Well or Fountain of the goddess *Conventina*, in which Mr. Clayton discovered the contents of a treasury-chest of the station, and many altars dedicated to this local divinity. For this remarkable discovery Mr. Clayton's paper in the *Proceedings of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries* should be consulted. In the seventh volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua* I also have given an illustrated notice of it, by the aid of my generous friend. Mr. Clayton has now commenced researches in close proximity to the Well, and he has already been rewarded with two inscribed stones which will probably add something to the history of this interesting locality.

I cannot conclude this brief Note without expressing my grateful thanks to the Bishop of Nottingham for his very kind attentions to me at the Congress.

British Archaeological Association.

FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, LINCOLN, 1889,

MONDAY, JULY 29TH, TO SATURDAY, THE 3RD AUGUST, WITH THREE
EXTRA DAYS TO WEDNESDAY, THE 7TH AUGUST.

PATRONS.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.
THE HIGH SHERIFF OF LINCOLNSHIRE.

PRESIDENT.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND
NOTTINGHAM.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.
THE EARL OF CAERNARVON, D.C.L.
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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, 29TH JULY 1889.

THE forty-sixth Annual Congress of the British Archæological Association was opened at Lincoln with a reception of the President and members by the Mayor and Corporation and the Local Committee at the County Assembly Rooms at two o'clock. The Right Worshipful the Mayor read an illuminated address of welcome to the ancient city, and this was followed by an eloquent inaugural oration by the President.

Afterwards the Mayor and Mayoress entertained the company to luncheon in the large room attached to the reception room. The Mayor (William Watkins, Esq.) presided, and among the company were the President of the Association, the Mayoress, the Bishop of Nottingham, Sir C. H. J. Anderson, Bart., Miss Anderson, Rev. Chancellor Leeke, Lady Dickeson, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Mrs. Venables, the Rev. Precentor Venables, Sir R. Dickeson, and Mrs. Leeke.

The Mayor proposed the toast of "The Queen", which was received with warm applause. He next gave "The Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other Members of the Royal Family."

Mr. S. F. Hood proposed the toast of "The Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese, and the other Ministers of Religion."

The Bishop of Lincoln, who was cordially greeted, after thanking the company for their reception of him, said that when the Mayor was kind enough to invite him to that banquet, he wondered how he could venture into such a learned assembly as those archæologists; but he would like to mention the thoughts which came to his mind. How was it, he asked himself, that such a learned and able body of men could in a day of progress think well to spend their time in groping back into the past? Was it wise? Was it right? Although it was a time of progress, yet still, on reflection, it seemed to be God's way not to let humanity and the world advance by a continuous kind of momentary progress, but rather, as it appeared to them, who only

looked at the surface of things, by leaps and bounds, and fits and starts. There had been great epochs when great men had risen, and then there had been times when apparently not much was going on. Take, for instance, the great science of morals. Reference had been made to Oxford. He could not think of Oxford without thinking of Aristotle and Plato. But those men lived years and years ago, and yet they were still the text-books from which the young men of the present day learned the great principles of morality. In poetry it was the same. The greatest men of England, whatever their politics, were fascinated by Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare. So it was in painting. Last autumn he paid a visit to the ancient art-galleries of Italy, and although he was not able to tear his hair as Mr. Ruskin would have him tear it, he admitted that he saw something, possibly in Giotto, if not in Cimabue, in the earliest times of Raphael, and in others, which he had not yet perceived in the Royal Academy of England. The great things came up, as it were, by leaps and bounds; and so it seemed to him to add to the reverence he had for their Society, that they had courage, in a day of progress, to be apparently wasting their time in going back to those great standards, those monuments of perfection which had been raised up in the past. He wished them God-speed, and gave them a hearty welcome to that ancient city, which was so rich in those monuments of perfection. He hoped they would study those monuments, and having studied them, give their contribution of instruction to the young men of the day, that they might gain such elements of sound perfection as to raise up, in days to come, something even yet more beautiful.

The Bishop of Nottingham also responded, and after alluding to the various places which the Association proposed to visit, said he was sure that the study of the past was a most valuable and precious thing in connection with the present as well as the future. They might be encouraged by what they had seen of the grandeur of nobility of days of old in a determination to live their present lives better, and show to posterity that they were not altogether unworthy to live in the nineteenth century.

The Sheriff proposed "The Army, Navy, and Auxiliary Forces."

Major Lambert responded in a stirring speech, and claimed for the army and navy the credit of being pioneers of archæology.

The Mayor next gave "The British Archæological Association." He observed that the toast had a peculiar interest for him because archæology and architecture were very nearly allied. It was really, after all, owing to the labour which archæologists had given to the study of works executed in past ages that architects were enabled to trace the history connecting them with peoples and countries far distant to their own, and which enabled them to bring up the history of architecture,

connect the styles, and also to show the development which architecture itself had made during a long period of years. The study of archæology itself was so immediately allied to the study of history that it was impossible to separate the two. Archæology had not only enabled them to discover the kind of buildings which their forefathers had erected, but it had also enabled those who had made archæology a study to trace out their connection with bygone peoples, and so enabled them to appreciate the works which had been done in years past. The Association which honoured the city with its presence that day had for its President one who he was sure would add lustre to the Society, and who was not a stranger to Lincoln. It was not so very long ago that His Lordship took sufficient interest in the city not only to unveil the monument erected in the Cathedral to the revered Bishop Wordsworth, but to accompany Lady Winchilsea to the School of Science and Art on the occasion of a prize-distribution. They had also had the satisfaction of Lord Winchilsea's residence amongst them for short periods on more than one occasion, and only last year he (the Mayor) had the pleasure of accepting his invitation to visit the ruins of Kirby Hall, which in themselves were of the greatest possible interest. They were, if he mistook not, the work of the eminent John Thorpe, who had left a mark worthy of the period in which he lived, and he (the Mayor) was not sorry to know that His Lordship desired to set on foot the preservation of that noble building. On behalf of himself and the Corporation he had to offer to His Lordship and the members of the British Archæological Association a hearty welcome to that city. As they knew, Lincoln possessed many objects of great interest. It had an ancient Roman arch marking the northern boundary of the old Roman city, and it had a Castle which had a great charm for some because it possessed a history of very peculiar interest. He believed he was not wrong in stating that there was an earth-castle there even before the present building was erected. They had, further, a noble Cathedral, which he was sure the Precentor would very adequately explain, and enable those who had come from a distance to appreciate one of the noblest piles the country possessed. Then they had in Lincoln other interesting buildings, amongst them the Guildhall and the Stonebow. It was well known that there had been many efforts made to remove the Stonebow. He was satisfied that the view of those present was that on no account should that be done. Only within the last year or two, he was glad to say, the Corporation had given it a fresh lease of life by adding some portion of Mr. Pearson's work in its restoration. He had pleasure in proposing the health of the noble President, and success to the British Archæological Association, and in stating that he was happy, and the Corporation were happy, to see the members there on that occasion.

The Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham (the President) said that before he addressed himself to the subject of the toast which had been so kindly and eloquently proposed by the Mayor, he desired to thank the members of the Association for the honour they had done him in electing him their President for the year, and to assure them that however unable he felt to discharge the duties they had imposed upon him, he undertook those duties in the same spirit in which he believed they were offered. He thought he should be doing no more than expressing what was uppermost in the minds of all the members when he tendered his and their hearty thanks to the Mayor for the magnificent hospitality which he had extended to them on that occasion. As one called upon to preside over the destinies of an eminently practical city, the Mayor had recognised the fact that however ardent the members might be in the study of archæology, they could not entirely subsist on the memories of the past, and he felt that the Association owed a debt of gratitude to his Worship, and himself especially, as he had reduced the presidential address to the limits of an after-dinner speech. The reception which the Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln had given them showed that they were deeply impressed with the responsible nature of the duties which were cast upon them as trustees for all generations of the extraordinary antiquities that abounded in the ancient city. The city of Lincoln and the county which surrounded it, he did not hesitate to say, formed a nucleus as worthy of the attention of archæologists as any in the kingdom. The city itself was so replete with historical associations, that if he were to make an attempt to trace them from the earliest times to the present, he would have to attempt to give an epitome of the history of England. The people of Lincoln had many things to be proud of,—the volume of its domestic and foreign trade, for instance, and he was glad to hear that both were increasing at the present time; but there was nothing which they ought to be more proud of than the antiquities which had been committed to their care. The natural advantages of the place could not escape any government or people, and it was, therefore, not surprising to find that even in the early British times a city was founded here, and took its name from a river, and was called Lindum. He would also remind them that the room in which they were assembled occupied a central position in a Roman city which had a circumscribed area of 400 yards by 430 yards. The gate of Newport Arch, one of the most interesting Roman relics in Great Britain, was very near. In that Arch they would see simplicity, strength, and durability, and would recognise in it one of the works which were worthy of the nation that became the masters of the world. Not only in this city were the Romans pioneers and engineers, as they had always proved themselves to be, but in other parts of the county one traced their work. In the

great road which led north and south of Lincoln, and was still a main thoroughfare, Ermine Street, they traced the iron band of the Romans; in the bank that still protected the farmers of the East Fens from the incursions of the sea, and which for 1,500 years had successfully resisted the rising tide; and in the Fossdyke, by which they obtained communication between Lincoln and the river Trent, they recognised their far-sighted policy. These were some of the interesting relics by which they were surrounded. There was something particularly interesting to Englishmen in tracing these rude but solid mementos which that great nation had left in our land, because of all the empires that had borne sway in the world, he knew of none which was so nearly approximated to our own as the Roman empire, in the spirit in which it was conducted, in the justice of its laws, in its great engineering works, in that high intelligence and that lofty common-sense which animated it in its best days. Then coming to later times, the history of Lincoln was the history of England. The President reminded his hearers of the important part played by Lincoln in the contests between the Saxons and the Danes, and of the fact that almost every king who reigned from the time of the Conquest down to the time of Henry VII was attracted within the sphere of its influence. Having briefly touched upon several interesting incidents in connection with the history of the city, concluding his retrospect with the observation that the city had always been loyal to the reigning sovereign, though she had at times suffered for it, Lord Winchilsea next dwelt upon the gradual growth of the Cathedral, and said that not only would Lincoln itself command the admiration of the members of the Association, but they would find that Lincolnshire would make good her claim to being eminently a county of parish churches. In all parts of the diocese, and more especially in the south-eastern part of it, there rose churches which in other countries would be thought not unworthy to rank as small cathedrals; and in this connection he instanced the parish churches of Louth, Boston, and Grantham. Proceeding to consider the utility of archæological research, His Lordship said that men of business, occupied in the practical work of this life, recognised that archæological and kindred associations were engaged in that work also, and had their proper place in the practical work of the nineteenth century. Everything in this practical age had to justify itself before the bar of public opinion, and if they could not prove that they were of any practical use, they must expect either to be contemptuously thrown on one side, or to be the objects of hostility. It must be admitted that if they compared this century with the century that preceded it, there had been an enormous revival among public bodies and private individuals, who were custodians of many valuable treasures, in the interest they bestowed on those treasures. Something was due

to the march of education among all classes; but a great deal was undoubtedly due to the organised effort which this and other Societies like it had put forth. They had visited different parts of the kingdom, they had awakened an amount of interest that caused people to look into the records of the past, and had unravelled many things in connection with antiquities, of which the owners themselves were unconscious. In that the Society was doing a great work, and he as an individual must be permitted to offer his heartiest thanks for what had been done. People might ask what practical use those things could be. He protested against the idea which would for a moment limit a great nation to any small view of what was necessary to its existence. The treasures of art and of science, the memories of our ancestors in a bygone generation, were just as much a necessity to our existence as the air we breathed. In the mighty Cathedral one generation after another had laid its dust within those walls, and before it passed away each age made its contribution to the fabric,—a contribution lighted by genius, and warmed by faithful and true devotion; so that when all those ages had passed away, we had in that Cathedral a great treasure-house not only of wood and stone, but of the spirit and devotion of our ancestors. It was a precious heritage and a very practical advantage, and it ought to constitute an education to the young men of this city. We were proving to America and to our colonies that we were indeed worthy to be considered the mother of the race; and so long as we did our duty to these ancient monuments, under which repose the dust of their common ancestors and ours, so long, he believed, should we make war between Anglo-Saxon countries impossible. He believed that although the efforts of politicians might do much, these silent influences did infinitely more to promote peace between Anglo-Saxon nations,—which meant the peace and prosperity of the world. The Association was doing a noble work; it was rousing people to a sense of their duty as trustees of national monuments; it would prevent them from neglecting those monuments, and from restoring them “not wisely but too well.”

Sir R. Dickeson proposed “The Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln,” and said the members of the Association had to thank that body sincerely for the hearty welcome which had been accorded them. This was nearly the fiftieth Congress they had held in different cities and towns in the kingdom, and he might fairly say that the welcome they had received from the Mayor that day had rarely been equalled, and never excelled.

The members subsequently paid a visit to the church of St. Peter-at-Gowts, the Hall of St. Mary's Guild, the Church of St. Mary-le-Wigford, and the old High Bridge.

TUESDAY, 30TH JULY 1889.

This day's proceedings began with a visit to the Guildhall. Before entering the chamber, in which the local parliament meets for the transaction of the city's business, there was time to examine the Stone Bow, the ancient arch over which that building was erected. "The Bow" is historically an interesting structure, from the fact that on the spot on which it stands a gate has existed from the times of the Romans. The present arch is said to belong to the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. The north side is adorned with the red rose of Lancaster and the fleur-de-lis of Lincoln; and on the south side is carved a representation of the Annunciation, the Virgin standing on a dragon on one side of the central archway, and the archangel Gabriel on the other.

The Guildhall claimed a share of attention on account of its timber roof; its canopy, from which tattered flags are suspended; and the ancient portraits. Here were exhibited the large gold mace, which is of the date of Charles II; the Cromwellian mace, a smaller piece, and made of silver; a number of swords, one of which belongs to the time of Henry IV or V; and a silver badge of the date of 1740, which the Mayor said was reputed to have been worn by the "waits"; but which Major Lambert preferred to associate with "weights", being of opinion that the badge was worn by an official corresponding to the inspector of weights and measures of modern times. The Mayor's and Sheriff's chairs were shown, also a number of old deeds and charters and corporate seals, and some old-fashioned broad-brimmed hats. The Mayor's ring, when exposed on the thumb of the Mayor's officer in any schoolroom, commands a holiday for the boys; the last occasion on which the ring was put to this use being on the Queen's Jubilee Day.

An inspection of these objects naturally led to an expression of surprise that Lincoln is without a museum. As the Mayor stated, a great number of Roman remains, almost sufficient to furnish a museum, were recently discovered, but were carried away by workmen and others because there was no place in the city to receive them. Perhaps one good result of the visit of the British Archaeological Association to Lincoln will be the realisation of the Mayor's hope that the city will soon possess a museum, even if it be only a small one.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, gave information respecting the seals, one of which was appended to a charter in the reign of Henry III, granting to Thomas Thacker, a merchant of Calais, and to his sons, immunity from all offices, and at the same time entitling him

to all liberties,—a circumstance from which he inferred that Thomas Thacker must have done good service for the city of Lincoln.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, urged the desirability of the city having a museum.

The Mayor supported this suggestion.

St. Swithin's Church, a modern building, was visited for the sake of the Roman altar that was found during the excavations for the foundations of that edifice four or five years ago.

The party then proceeded to the Old Grammar School, or Grey Friars. The old houses on Steep Hill were passed on the way to the Minster. The "Jew's House", which marks the transitional period between the Norman and Early English, owes much of its celebrity to its association with the name of a Jewess, "Belaset of Wallingford", who was executed for clipping coin. The house higher up the hill, bearing the date 1107, is known as the house of "Aaron the Jew" or "Aaron the Rich".

At the Cathedral Canon Venables met the visitors. He said the only portions of the Norman Cathedral built by Remigius are the central portion of the west front, the bases of two western towers, and the semicircular apse underneath the stalls of the choir. The savage plainness of the Norman portions of the majestic west front leads him to rejoice that no more of the original structure remains. With this exception, the Minster belongs entirely to the Early English style, the erection of the building being confined to the comparatively limited period from 1193 to 1280. There is no trace of transition period in the building. While admitting the stateliness of the west front, Canon Venables pointed out that it is contrary to the principles of sound architecture, its great fault being that it was built on the false principle of "construct ornament" instead of "ornament construction". The west front is merely a wall on which to hang the arcade. The dignified simplicity of the nave, the carving and diaper-work of the screen (very effective as seen by a light streaming in through the "Bishop's Eye"), the exquisite window in the south transept and the "Dean's Eye" in the corresponding position in the north transept, and the graceful outlines of the choir, were admired in turn. The "Angel Choir", which once contained the shrine of St. Hugh, and in which there are now many tombs and monuments, the latest of which commemorates the late Bishop Wordsworth, was visited. The cloisters were examined, and also the chapter-house, in course of restoration. This edifice will be remembered as the scene of many important events in the days when Edward I and his successors held their Parliaments within its walls.

A visit to the Castle was among the incidents of the day, and here a paper was read by Mr. G. Patrick, which has been printed at pp. 8-16.

In the evening the members met in the School of Science and Art, under the presidency of the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham. The Bishop of Nottingham read a paper on "Somerton Castle and its Royal Prisoner," which has been printed at pp. 1-7. A second paper, by Rev. A. R. Maddison, dealt with the visitation of Lincoln Cathedral in 1436-37. The third paper was on a Roman *lanx* found at Lakenham Fens in Suffolk, which was exhibited and explained by Mr. Henry Prigg; and Mr. Charles Lynam read a paper on "Mediæval Masonry."

WEDNESDAY, 31ST JULY 1889.

This day the party travelled by rail to Ruskington. Here they were met by carriages which conveyed them to Haverholme Priory, the seat of the President. The Bishop of Nottingham pointed out to the visitors the history of the place. Originally the property belonged to Bishop Alexander, who, desirous of building a monastery on the island formed by two branches of the Sleaford river, sent for a number of Cistercian monks from Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire. For a few years these monks lived here, then, after sojourning for a while at Fountains, they removed to Louth Park. The land at Haverholme was afterwards given by Alexander to the then new Order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham. The Gilbertine Order settled here in 1139, and eventually the Priory was surrendered to Henry VIII in 1538. Though no plan of the houses has been prepared, there are the remains of the two sets of buildings, one of which the Bishop of Nottingham thinks was erected by the Cistercians, and the other by the Gilbertines. At the time of the Dissolution, the Prior and six canons were the only inmates of the house; but it is stated that at one time it was occupied by fifty canons and a hundred nuns. Archbishop Thomas Becket sought refuge at Haverholme, and hid in the Hermitage until the King was appeased. The base of an Early English column, marking the site of the chapel, was pointed out, and the site of the old burial-ground, where some stone graves are partly exposed.

The property, which in the early part of this century was owned by Sir Jenison Gordon, Bart., passed by marriage into the possession of the Finch-Hatton family, and the present residence was built by the late Earl. In the library was shown a collection of MSS., chiefly relating to the noble Earl's family. Among them are the pedigree of the Finch family; the pedigree of the Hattons, by Dethick, in 1590; and the celebrated Dugdale MS. of 1631, containing drawings of the effigies, tombs, brasses, coats of arms, and miscellaneous antiquities of Peterborough, Lincoln, Newark, Ely, and other places, which are of great value owing to the fact that most of the originals have been

mutilated or entirely destroyed. The collection also embraces a manuscript volume of poems by Ann Countess of Winchilsea, bearing the date 1713, facsimiles of the ancient charters, and seals of the families of Finch and Hatton from the Anglo-Saxon period to the time of the Dissolution. The originals of these facsimiles, of which there are several hundreds, are in the British Museum.

Before leaving Haverholme Priory, the Mayor of Lincoln expressed the members' appreciation of the kindness of Lord Winchilsea, whose only regret was that, owing to illness, the Countess was unable to receive the party.

The Church of St. Andrew, in the neighbouring village of Ewerby, was next visited. The Bishop of Nottingham described the Gothic building as one of the most beautiful and instructive village churches in England. The chapel, dedicated to Sir Alexander Aunsell, whose memory is perpetuated by a quaint monument, appears to be of an earlier style of architecture than the rest of the church. With the village of Ewerby is associated the name of Ann Askew or Ascough, the martyr, who married into the Kyme family, and who is said to have lived in the neighbourhood for some time.

The time was too short to allow of more than a glance at the small Church of St. Oswald, and the party proceeded to Heckington Church, the "Queen of Parish Churches." In size, said the Bishop, it is excelled by many; in the perfection and beauty of its architecture it is surpassed by few; in gracefulness it must yield to Ewerby; but in its general character it is more striking, and as a specimen of the pure Decorated style it is one of the most perfect examples in the country. According to tradition, the foundations were laid in 1101, and the whole building completed three years later; but Bishop Trollope assigns the present building to a much later date, with the exception of the north portion, which is of a plainer style than the rest, having apparently been erected between 1345 and 1380. An object of interest in the chancel is an Easter sepulchre, said to be one of the most beautiful of the few specimens remaining in England. The chancel is the work of Richard de Pottesgrave, whose effigy rests in that portion of the church. Pottesgrave was chaplain to Edward II, and conducted his funeral. The manner of that monarch's death, according to the Bishop of Nottingham, must have been known to Pottesgrave; and after many inquiries into the subject, his Lordship is inclined to doubt the statement of the *Chronicle*, that Edward II was poisoned or otherwise murdered in Berkeley Castle.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH JANUARY 1890.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

REV. CANON J. M. BARRETT, M.A., St. Peter-in-Eastgate Vicarage, Lincoln, was elected an Associate.

A. G. Langdon, Esq., was elected on the Council, in place of W. Myers, Esq., F.S.A., deceased.

W. E. Hughes, Esq., was elected an Auditor.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A., for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Part 44, Jan. 1890.

To the Society, for "Transactions of the County of Middlesex Natural History and Science Society," Session 1888-9.

„ „ for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," No. 80, vol. ix, 4th Series.

The announcement of the death of the Lord Bishop of Durham, and of Colonel Tomline, Vice-Presidents, was received with great regret by the members present.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a fine collection of miscellaneous *fictilice* recovered from recent excavations in Southwark.

Mr. A. S. Canham, of Crowland, contributed a paper on the "Ancient Crosses of Crowland", illustrated with a diagram of the crosses still extant *in situ*. In the absence of the author the paper was read by Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.* It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 5TH FEBRUARY.

G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, V.P., F.S.A., was unanimously elected President of the Congress to be held at Oxford in July next, and of the Association for the session 1890-1.

The American Geographical Society was elected into the list of Associates.

The following Honorary Corresponding Members were duly appointed:

Alderman C. Brown, Chester
A. S. Canham, Esq., Crowland, Lincolnshire
H. D. Cole, Esq., Heathfield Villas, Winchester
Alex. Gardner, Esq., Paisley

Thanks were ordered to be returned

To the Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal of Transactions," vol. vi, No. 7.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following communication:—

ON AN EARLY CELTIC SEPULCHRAL SLAB.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

Last year the Rev. Professor G. F. Browne, of Cambridge, when passing through Peterborough, kindly showed me a rubbing of the remarkable slab, of supposed Saxon date, which some time previously had been discovered at Hickling Church, near Melton Mowbray. So curious an example was it that I sought to obtain a copy, and have at last, through the kindness of the Rev. Canon T. Skelton, the Rector, obtained a photograph of it. This, though not so full and good as desirable, yet may enable members to obtain some idea of it, and I therefore send it for exhibition.

This stone, according to the testimony of an eye-witness now living in Hickling, was dug up from below the chancel of the present church on the occasion of the interment of the widow of a Rector in the year 1826. From that time it lay on the floor of the church, and was found by the present Rector, Canon Skelton, at his coming, lying in a heap of coal. On the occasion of the restoration of the church in 1886, for its better preservation, it was erected in the east wall of the south aisle, as shown by the photograph. Owing to the length of the present chancel and church (about fourteenth century), it is probable that they cover much more ground of the churchyard than the original pre-existing church, and that consequently the coffin-lid was placed, in the first instance, in the churchyard, outside the church.

For another representation of this stone, plates 1, 2, 3, on the first sheet of illustrations to Professor Browne's *Disney Lectures*, Lent Term 1889, may be referred to.

The slab is moderately coped; the edge ornamented with a band of interlacing work of straps and rings. The keel-ridge supports a cross with arms of the early axe-blade shape; the horizontal ones sunk, and ornamented. Each end of the keel terminates in the mouths of two

boar-shaped heads, whose jaws clasp the ends of stone; suggestive that the idea of the design retains a last echo of that seen in the so-called "hog-back" type of monument.¹ Professor Browne's outlined rubbing made this more evident than the photograph does. The general surface of the slab is divided across, near the centre, by a narrow band of pelleted work. The portion above contains the cross, the angles of space over being filled with rich, interlacing strap-work having serpents' heads. Below the cross, on the south side, is a dog; its tail runs off into strap-like ornament, crossing the animal's body, and ending like heads. The north contains strap-work alone. Below the central band the space is again subdivided into upper larger and lower small spaces by a band of interlacing design. In that to the north is another animal with like interlacing strap-work to the first, the south space having serpent-headed strap-ornamentation only. Of the lower small divisions, the shadow in the photograph only permits it to be seen that in that on the south side there were two animals regarding each other.

On first seeing Professor Browne's rubbing, it seemed to be probably an unusually rich and fine design of the period of that return to imitating Saxon ornamentation which took place so abundantly just before 1100; and though strongly induced to believe it is, after all, of that period, yet it is but at the same time right and valuable, in regard to such consideration, to state certain facts existing in its ornamentation which from their agreement with good Saxon work may be fairly placed in opposition to the above view. These are the incised border-lines to animal figures, the use of double strap-work generally, and in a more doubtful measure the peculiar shape of the cross. To these there is, however, a balance in that redundancy of ornament always more or less present in the "copies" of 1190-1100.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a stone weight found at Templeton, near Tiverton, Devon; and another, of smaller dimensions, from the same site; a leaden stylus, or "plummet", in use before the invention of the lead pencil of graphite; and two Greco-Roman vases from Cairo.

Mr. Herbert J. Reid, F.S.A., exhibited two remarkable glass ewers from Florence, ornamented with gilding of foliage and sacred monograms.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited a stone quern found by Mrs. Ingram, of Belvoir Castle, whilst making excavations close by, for ironstone, a few years ago, and read the following

¹ *Proc. of Antiq. of Scot.* for 1884-5.

NOTES ON QUERNS.

"Numerous allusions occur in Scripture to the grinding of corn, from which it appears that among the Hebrews that necessary work was left to women. In the Book of Numbers, xi, 8, we find that the manna gathered by the Israelites was ground in mills, or beaten in a mortar, etc. Among the Romans the mortar and pestle were alone used for pounding wheat, and the work was similarly done by women down to the year 173 B.C. At that date baking was established as a separate occupation, the craftsmen being called *pistores*, from *pisere*, to pound, in allusion to this manner of preparing flour.

"At a later time mills were introduced, of which the quern was the simplest and original form. It was called the *mola manuvria* or *mola tonsatilis*, and was worked chiefly by slaves, the labour being regarded as eminently degrading. Later on the *mola asinaria*, moved by animal power, and the *mola aquaria*, or water-mill, were employed as a substitute for hand-worked mills.

"The quern and very rude water-mills were in use throughout Great Britain for many centuries, and continued to be employed in outlying districts of Scotland and Ireland until very recent times. Strutt, in his *Chronicle of England*, says, 'At what time mills were first used in Britain cannot be determined. Hand-mills, which, without doubt, were the most ancient of any, we may conceive, were known in the time of Ethelbert, King of Kent, who ruled that nation from the year 560 to the year 616, for in his Laws a particular fine of 12s. is imposed upon any man who should corrupt the King's grinding-mill.¹ Hence it is also evident that they were turned and tended by women; but it is also probable that before the end of the Heptarchy water-mills were erected, because in ancient deeds and grants of lands we find mention made of mills, which are generally said to be situated near the water.'

"Dr. Johnson, in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, describes the working of the quern as seen by himself: 'There are water-mills in Skye and Raasa; but where they are not too far distant the housewives grind their oats with a quern or hand-mill, which consists of two stones about a foot and a half in diameter. The lower is a little convex, to which the concavity of the upper must be fitted. In the middle of the upper stone is a round hole, and on one side is a long handle. The grinder sheds the corn gradually into the hole with one hand, and works the handle round with the other. The corn slides down the concavity of the lower stone, and by the motion of the upper is ground in its passage.'"

¹ "Leges Ethelberti", apud Wilkins.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., exhibited a fine series of Roman silver coins.

Rev. Canon C. Collier, M.A., F.S.A., sent for exhibition a stone relic from Chelbourne.

Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., read two short papers entitled:—(1), "Some Aspects of the Past in the Present"; and (2), on "Menhirs." It is hoped that these papers will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. W. de G. Birch read a paper by Mr. M. Drury, of Lincoln, on "A Concrete Causeway, supposed to be Roman, at Lincoln." This was illustrated with a plan and sections of the causeway, and it is hoped that it will be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, 19TH FEBRUARY 1890.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Honorary Corresponding Members were duly appointed :

Rev. C. V. Collier, B.A., Bridlington Quay
W. H. Saunders, Esq., High Street, Portsmouth
J. M. Wood, Esq., Highbury

Thanks were ordered to be returned to
A. Oliver, Esq., for "Notes on Flemish Brasses in England."

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited the vellum binding of a book, consisting of two leaves from a fifteenth century service-book.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, exhibited a photograph of the "Cresset-Stone" at Lewannick Church, near Launceston, a mediæval cresset, and a Roman lamp, and read the following short paper on the subject:—

NOTES ON A CRESSET-STONE AT LEWANNICK.

BY G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A.

A few words on the photograph of the so-called "Cresset-Stone", taken from the original stone stool in Lewannick Church, near Launceston, Cornwall, entrusted to me for exhibition this evening by Mrs. Howard White, of Calais Court, Ryarsh, Kent, I hope may be acceptable to those archaeologists present who are interested in trying to find the origin of the application of old names to objects of mediæval use, or even of later times, when they do not seem to bear out the original meaning of the principal word used in describing the purpose for which the object was really used or employed.

The photograph is taken from an object of interest of which notice

has been given by several writers, as well as guesses formed as to its most probable use in by-gone days. One writer, in a work entitled *An Architectural Journey through Cornwall*, only lately, viz., 1888, thus speaks of this object: "There is an ancient stone stool of penitence, now at the west end of the nave, but which originally stood, I believe, under the pulpit. It has seven circular holes, about 3 in. deep, cut into the top of the stone, and representing the seven deadly sins. These were filled with thorns and thistles, and the penitent was required to stand with bare feet upon them, facing the congregation, throughout the whole service."

Of this certainly very debateable question, although the author of the above quoted passage, Mr. H. P. Burke Downing, seems to have no doubts on the matter, is referred to in a letter by Mr. Harry Hems of Fair Park, Exeter, to the *Western Morning News* of January last, in the following way, and naturally shows there are two, if not more, sides to every question, whether archæological, historical, political or otherwise.

The author of this description, says Mr. Hems, "seems to have been led away by the fact that the Lewannick Cresset-Stone has seven cups, quite overlooking that in other known existing examples the number of holes vary considerably, and in no other instance is another one known with seven hobs." At Dearham the Cresset has but one hole; the one at Lanthony has three. At Wool, and in a specimen in Stockholm Museum, the Cresset has four cups; whilst the one at Furness Abbey, which was not noticed at our visit to that venerable ruin during the Liverpool Congress of 1887, has five holes. And the writer goes on to mention other such stones as existing in Monmouth and at York, having each six holes; whilst the one at Calder Abbey beats them all by having sixteen cups, and made in the new red stone formation.

This Lewannick Cresset, he goes on to say, is formed of polished granite, but of a finer quality than that which the immediate neighbourhood produces. He describes this stone as consisting of a top-stone, circular in shape, and of 1 ft. 6 in. diameter, and 7 in. deep. The seven holes are $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep; and of a base-stone, on which the top one stands; as square at the top, and octagonal at the bottom; and as 1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by 1 ft. 2 in. wide. But Mr. Hems gives no suggestion as to the use of the stone, or why it is called "Cresset". The question, "What was the Cresset-Stone originally used for?" has never yet been satisfactorily answered.

To show how doctors differ on such interesting subjects as these, I will quote from Mr. Wm. Davies of Kingsbridge, writing to the above referred to paper on January 17th, 1890; and from Mr. Oswin Charlton, from Endwood, Torquay, January 20th of this year.

Mr. Davies writes, "Why is the article called a 'Cresset-Stone', and is that its correct designation? If the latter part of the question be answered in the affirmative, then the meaning and derivation of the word would point to the probable use of the Stone. Now a 'cresset' signifies a beacon, or torch of light or lamp fixed in a conspicuous place. The word itself is a corruption of the French word *croisette*, the diminutive of *croix* (*crux*, Latin), and was so called because the light or beacon was displayed on a pole surmounted by a cross. This derivation, if correct, will show that the Stone in question was used in some way in connection with lights or fire."

And now for my last quotation, that of Mr. Charlton, who writing to the *Western Morning News*, says: "In reference to the recent correspondence on the use of the Cresset Stone, the following note from Mr. C. C. Hodges' great work on Hexham Abbey may be of interest. He remarks: "In the rites of Durham (we read), at each end of the cloister was a square stone, wherein was a dozen of cressets wrought in each stone, being always fill'd and supply'd by the cooks, as they needed, to afford light to the monks and novices on their arising to their matins, at midnight, and for their other necessary uses.'¹ Cresset-Stones occur at Calder, Furness, Monk-Bretton, and Hexham. The latter is a fragment on a rockery, with one perfect cup and parts of four others adjoining. The stone is 6 in. thick."

There can be but little doubt, I should think, in our minds but that the original uses of these cresset-stones were for the purposes of rough candle-sticks,—the latter part of our comparatively modern word, showing that *sticks* or poles having a basket of iron attached to them, and containing the burning coal or other combustible matter in them, and called "cressets", were placed in these cups, and thus occasionally shedding the wonted or necessary light all around in churches, or chambers, or on hill-tops, as a beacon from afar, as the case may be,—

"From the arched roof,
Pendent by subtle magic, many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets fed
With naphtha and asphaltus yielded light",

sings Milton of the term we have been descanting upon; and that later still, fully explaining the nature of the word used in conjunction with this stone object of antiquity, called fairly enough, from its evident use, the "Cresset-Stone", the poet Wordsworth hath described it

"As a cresset true that darts its length
Of beamy lustre from a tower of strength."

¹ Sanderson's ed., p. 78. See also a paper on Cresset-Stones by the Rev. T. Lees, *Arch. Journal*, xxxix, p. 390.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited a fine rubbing of the brass which Mr. C. H. Compton had also exhibited when his paper was read last year. This brass was presented to the Surrey Archaeological Society by the Rev. Henry Burnaby Greene, M.A., about the year 1861. There is an account of it in *Archæologia*, xv, p. 302, in a letter by John Latham, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., to the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, as follows :—

“It is of a bright coloured brass or pale copper, about 19 in. square, and weighs 10 pounds. I can obtain nothing more of its history than that it originally came from Netley Abbey, and that a relation of the person to whom it belongs found it, several years ago, in a poor man’s house, where it served for a back of a grate, and that it was purchased from the latter for a moderate gratuity. It is now clean and bright, and seems not to have suffered the least injury.

“The shape of the beacon is nearly similar to one in *Archæologia*, vol. i, Pl. 1, and from being repeated four times was probably meant for the crest of the knight represented on the plate, whose name, perhaps, may not be so easily ascertained. It is observed in the *Archæologia* that the family of Belknap, as also those of Shelly, Mountford, Sudly, and others, bear such a crest; and we learn from Gwillim that the family of Dauntre have for arms, *sable*, three beacons *or*; but how far any of these names have connection with Netley remains for you to judge. The words, ‘So have I cause’, six times repeated, may lead us to suppose the motto; and if I read the label issuing from the man’s mouth right, the words appear. (E. 7, Ps. 27, v. 4 and 8.)

“The sculptured parts are in high relief, the intermediate field or ground being hatched or cut out, leaving the figures on a bright, smooth surface; and the whole is in so perfect a state as to last for years to come.”

Mr. A. G. Langdon exhibited a plate of illustrations of carved bench-ends in St. Martin’s Church, Lewannick, and Lancaut Church, Cornwall.

Mr. G. Patrick read a paper on “Old Wandsworth”, which will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Cecil Davis added some particulars of the Parish Registers, the elections, the Wandsworth Volunteers, the Wandsworth Gipsy, Mount Nod Cemetery, churchwardens’ accounts, and other antiquarian points of interest.

Mr. G. F. Lawrence, of Wandsworth, exhibited, by way of illustrating Mr. G. Patrick’s paper, a large and representative collection of prehistoric relics found in Wandsworth during recent years, and read the following notes on—

THE PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITIES OF WANDSWORTH.

BY G. F. LAWRENCE, ESQ.

The prehistoric antiquities from Wandsworth, which I have the honour of exhibiting this evening, are the result of four years' search; and although they are not particularly numerous, they are of some interest to the student. I have found traces of inhabited sites of both the palæolithic and neolithic periods in or near the town, and the more important relics are here exhibited.

I discovered a working-place of the earliest or palæolithic period on the outskirts of Wandsworth, at St. Ann's Hill; and from a spot of a few yards I obtained over three thousand flakes and implements,—a proof that it was more than a mere halting-place of these people.

The implements proper are of the ordinary drift-types found all over the south of England, France, and other countries; but the minor implements, such as scrapers and borers, are of a type not usually found in our river-gravels, but which have been found in great numbers in the Cave of Le Moustier in France. The only other places in England, besides Wandsworth, where scrapers of the Moustierian type have been found in any number in the drift are North London, Acton, and High Lodge, Mildenhall, and they denote a period when the drift-folk were advanced from the lowest stage of culture; in fact, are of the latest period of the occupation of England by these people prior to the advent of the next or neolithic tribes.

The neolithic implements from Wandsworth are scarce. I have only a few, and not one polished axe or arrow-head, although Canon Greenwell, of Durham, has a partially polished flint axe from Wandsworth. The specimens I have consist of scrapers, a saw, flakes (one unusually long), borers, two chipped axes, a flint adze, a horn pick, a fine horn adze (remarkable for having been bored with flint tools), a knife (small, but well chipped), half an axe, and two flakes, found on Rucker's Estate, West Hill,—enough to show that Wandsworth was inhabited during this period, but not to any extent.

A few antiquities of the bronze age have also been found in the district. I have a perforated stone hammer and a flint knife-dagger of this period; and Canon Greenwell has a rapier-shaped bronze dagger-blade from near the High Street, and also a spear-head, hammer, and axe of the same metal; while in the British Museum are a fine bronze sword, pin with ornamented head, and axe of unique form, found at the mouth of the Wandle some years since. I have also had a very fine bronze dagger-sheath of the early iron age, found in the district. This is also now in Canon Greenwell's collection.

WEDNESDAY, 5TH MARCH 1890.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

William Bull, Esq., Woodford, Albany Road, Southsea, was elected an Associate.

The following Honorary Corresponding Members were duly appointed :

Cecil Davis, Esq., Public Library, Wandsworth

G. F. Lawrence, Esq., High Street, Wandsworth

It was announced that the Earl of Carnarvon had fixed the opening meeting of the Oxford Congress for Monday, July 7.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a collection of "grey-beard" jugs found during recent excavations in Southwark, ornamented with coats of arms, and having inscriptions in Dutch, as well as the usual bearded head attributed to Cardinal Bellarmine.

Mr. Davis exhibited a small circular stone candlestick, 3 in. high, found among some rubbish removed from a church in Gloucestershire. Mr. Davis also exhibited the rubbing of a brass in Newlands Church, Forest of Dean, where a miner is figured holding his candlestick in his mouth.

A rubbing of a brass, A.D. 1420, in Wandsworth Church, Surrey, was also shown, in which a knight is drawn with a mall at his girdle.

Alderman Saunders sent for exhibition a drawing of the key of Portsmouth town, which was thrown into the harbour by Colonel Goring on the surrender to the Parliamentary army. It was recovered in 1811, and is now in Mr. Saunders' possession.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited one of the well known forgeries of the firm of "Billy and Charley", manufacturers of spurious antiquities. He did so as a warning to collectors what to avoid.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., read a paper on the "Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire." This interesting paper was illustrated by a large number of rubbings and photographs. The paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Architecture of Provence and the Riviera. By DAVID MACGIBBON. 8vo., pp. xx, 467. (Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1888.)—It is always a matter of interest to an antiquary to have brought before him the archæological remains of any particular district, for he is sure to be able to trace many details of difference from objects already known to him, as well as others which agree. The comparing of the antiquities of one district or country with those of another is always a pursuit which amply rewards the inquirer.

Mr. David Macgibbon is already well known, in concert with Mr. T. Ross, for a remarkable book on the castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland, in which the old memorials of the country north of the Tweed are subjected to critical and accurate analysis, while their appearance is made clear by a vast number of engravings. We have now to thank him for a second publication, a fascinating book, which bears the title as rendered above. In a readable volume he has brought before his readers notices of a vast number of buildings and other antiquities in classic Provence, which afford a great number of types of design which we believe will be novel to the vast number of his readers.

These buildings are second to none in interest, while they exceed a great number not alone in their artistic design, but from the reflected light which they render on past and momentous history. In these can be distinctly traced the best artistic efforts of imperial Rome, succeeding to the works of the Greek colonists, traces of whose handiwork even are not yet quite obliterated. The decay of Roman art appears in many remaining buildings. Then follows the dreary time of the incursion of northern races, whose influence, unhappily for the country, was felt later than in some other districts, since the first hordes of barbarians appear to have soon been absorbed into the existing civilisation, during which art of a certain type continued; while the ancient municipalities of the towns asserted themselves on the decay of the central authority of Rome, and which bestowed upon this rich and beautiful district the benefits of a certain amount of government, although intermittent and local as it must have been.

But the art of Provence awoke early, and the pages of the book before us show, by a great number of examples, how a vigorous, round-arched style was developed and brought to perfection, founded upon

the many remains of Roman art which existed throughout the district, and so nearly resembling the newer works in details as to render it no easy matter to assign an exact date to their erection.

In the midst of abundant signs of progress and development, when the long night of barbaric rule and aggression had passed, and when poetry, wealth, and security had revived in the land favoured by all the natural beauties which make the district one of the most lovely which the earth can show, came that foul crime against humanity, the crusade against the Albigenes. One's ears tingle when we hear of armies of so-called "soldiers of the cross" being hurled against the wealthy district, then given up to plunder, and the whole of the inhabitants of populous towns, men, women, and little children, being pitilessly slaughtered in cold blood by Christian warriors taught to believe that they were doing a meritorious work acceptable to the Almighty!

The effect of this foul deed is still but too apparent. Gone, and for ever, is the carved work of the sculptor; gone completely are the rich portals and the cloistered walks, which formed so prominent a feature in the art-works of the time, as thoroughly as if every sculptor had shared the fate of so many thousands of others; gone, in fact, is the rich Romanesque style altogether; it ceases to appear either in church or fortress, and its tradition survives only in some of the general plans of the fabrics. Its place is taken by a cold, starved form of pointed Gothic; which, however, has produced some buildings of very considerable interest, showing, as they do, in a remarkable manner, the adaptation of the exotic style to the actual wants of the dreary time when the country had hardly recovered from the recent massacres, and subjected to renewed shocks from the assaults of the Moors of Spain. At this time arose a curious series of fortified churches and monasteries, which are ably described and illustrated. To the style of the thirteenth century, without ornament or carving, succeeded other forms of northern Gothic, which by degrees began to take root in the country, especially when it became subject to the rule of France.

Our author, quoting from Viollet le Duc, speaks of the old Provençal style as having ceased to develop fresh forms. It continued to copy the ancient buildings of classical times, but it did no more. We think these remarks are hardly justified by the fine series of Romanesque buildings which are placed before us with no sparing hand. Here are curious belfry-towers, octagonal in form, springing from Pendentive bases, borrowed, doubtless, from Auvergne; cunningly devised half-vaults to the aisles of churches, admirably arranged to meet the thrust of the wider vaults of the naves; bold portals, delicate colonnades, rich sculpture. All these features are treated in a style which is greatly different from contemporary work elsewhere, and which shows no sign of abatement of power.

Romanesque art in Europe is remarkable for having worked out in every country a style peculiar to itself, with features different from other districts. What we now call France can show several local varieties of these styles. In other countries these forms gave place gradually, and with no apparent opposition, to the details and forms of Gothic art. Here, in Provence, there appeared every possibility of the earlier style holding its own; and it would be a curious study, undoubtedly, were we able now to trace the result. The style was, however, as we have seen, suddenly checked in the full tide of its progress, and thus in no country have we any evidence of what development the style would have pursued.

There is one feature, in addition to those enumerated, which must not be passed over. Mr. Macgibbon claims for the style of Provence the early use of the pointed arch, and he shows how this was brought about by the necessity of providing a lofty internal vault, the back of which would form a less ponderous support for the stone slabs of the roofing than could be obtained by a round arch. He cites several examples, all of undoubtedly early date, in which the rise and progress of this arrangement are clearly evidenced. He might have added, however, that the same thing is observable in St. Kevin's kitchen at Glendalough; and, in fact, in some of the oratories of his own Scotland: notably at Teampull Beannachadh there is the same idea worked out somewhat differently, but of much greater antiquity. Still the finding of the pointed arch in the Provençal works is a noteworthy fact; and when once found, who can tell to what phase of development some individual man of genius may not have carried the new form? We know so little, notwithstanding all the amount of painstaking research that has been bestowed upon the subject of the origin of the pointed arch, that any contribution to our knowledge is bound to receive attention, and the Provençal examples are deserving of all the notice that can be given to them.

The book, after prefatory matter and a brief sketch of the history of Provence, begins its real work with a notice of some of the most remarkable of the ancient Roman remains as seen by a traveller going south towards the Riviera, beginning at Lyons, and rapidly glancing at the sites on both sides of the Rhone. Graphic little sketches are given of most of these, among them being the Temple of Augustus and Livia at Vienne, now happily freed from its barbarous enclosing walls with which its finely proportioned columns were hidden. It now stands out to observation as a hexastyle temple, second only to the Maison Carrée, which latter is also shown by a sketch, and sympathetically described. There are views also of the great Forum at Vienne, etc., the Pyramid, the Triumphal Arch, and the huge Theatre at Orange. The beautiful monument and the equally fine arch at St. Remy

are not forgotten. The Amphitheatre at Arles, and the other monuments, have several illustrations; and the same is rendered to those of Nismes, the resemblance of the Tour Magne to the celebrated trophy erected by Augustus at La Turbie being pointed out. Fréjus, Clau-sonne, and the ancient city of Cimiez, near Nice, have interesting Roman remains, and sketches of these are given: indeed, of the Roman ruins alone, it may be doubted if any other English book contains so much information or so much illustration as do the pages before us, while to our readers who may be familiar with the great work of De Labode we may say that the sketches here show us the present aspect of the objects.

But this part of the subject is only of secondary importance to what follows. We are again taken down the banks of the Rhone, and the principal buildings—castles, churches, cathedrals, and monasteries—of mediæval date, on both banks, are described to us. Arriving at Arles, we proceed westward, and Beziers, Narbonne, Perpignan, and Carcassonne are illustrated. Progress is then made for the Riviera, and a series of quaint cities, walled, erected on the summits of high hills, and filled with old-world buildings, brought to our notice by the aid of facile and rapid description and abundant illustration. Some of these sites are far away one from the other, in country difficult of approach; but it has evidently been a labour of love to explore them, and the results before us lead a reader to wish to explore them too.

Among so many subjects it is difficult to make mention of any specially; but the bare mention of the following will help better to show the scope of the work than any lengthy description. The Abbey of Cruas is illustrated by two views. It is a castellated building erected over an ancient church. The church in the town has a circular, central tower springing from a square base. The Palace of the Popes at Avignon is shown by views and plans. Several views are given of the fine fortifications of Carcassonne and at Aigues Mortes, and of the Castle of Villeneuve-les-Avignon; the latter a very fine and perfect example of military work, erected in 1307 by Philippe le Bel. Views of the Cathedrals of Arles, Narbonne, Perpignan, and Elne, and others, are given, as well as of the remarkable Monastery of Mont-Majour. The fortified churches at Les Saintes Maries, Marseilles, etc., are also shown. In the Riviera, the Cathedral of Fréjus, the singular church of St. Paul, Hyères, and the buildings in the little known town of Albequa, are reproduced by some good sketches, while Italian influence is referred to in the Cathedrals of Ventimiglia and Grasse. Special notice is given of the Castle of St. Honorat, Lérins, which, in fact, contains a monastery surrounded externally with all the features of a military work.

But perhaps the most telling praise we can render to this admirable

book, the perusal of which we leave with regret, is to say that it contains the large number of two hundred and eighty-five illustrations, the great bulk of which, we feel pretty sure, are of objects not well known to English readers.

We commend the book to the members of this Association, feeling sure that its perusal will be as interesting to them as it has been to us.

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JUNE 1890.

DESCRIPTION OF THE REMAINS OF THE NORMAN CATHEDRAL OF BATH, EXPOSED DURING THE REPAIRS MADE BETWEEN 1863 AND 1872.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

(*Read 6 Apr. 1881.*)

BATH, celebrated for its hot springs in Roman times, and retaining, through the possession of the same healing streams, its consequence afterwards, did not become the seat of a bishop's see until the death of Giso, fourteenth and last Saxon Bishop of Somerset in 1088. His successor, John de Villula (or of Tours), having as a medical practitioner amassed a fortune at Bath, became first a priest, and eventually Giso's successor at Wells. This was effected, as Matthew of Paris elegantly describes, "by anointing the King's hand with white ointment".

From King William Rufus, Bishop John, in A.D. 1090, obtained a grant of the city of Bath, to which, in the years 1091-1092, he removed the seat of the see of Somerset from Wells. An old Benedictine monastery therein existing served to form the nucleus of this new arrangement. Within its church Edgar the peaceable had been crowned, and of it so much, at least, must have been of stone construction. Its site is now unknown. Ancient accounts state its being at "Hæt Bathan", an expression that, if weighed by local acceptance of some centuries, suggests search to be made rather neighbouring to the "Hot Bath Spring" than on any part of the site of the present Abbey Church.¹

¹ To the present time (1890) no record exists of any discovery of Saxon fragments in connection with the Bath Abbey Church.

The monkish fraternity thus accidentally called to the honour of becoming half the new Chapter were seemingly held by Bishop John in the lowest estimation. To their services and them he most likely left the small, old, decayed Saxon church, while commencing on an entirely new site his cathedral. The greater part of such site we now know had never been built over before. Commenced, as usual, at the east end, and only enough probably completed for service, the whole had not been finished at his death on the 3rd of the kalends of January 1123 (Dec. 29, 1122). His burial was in front of the altar of the Blessed Virgin, where, in the middle of the presbytery, Leland saw his monument still remaining on visiting Bath in the sixteenth century.

During the progress of the repairs of the Abbey Church by Sir G. G. Scott, the various discoveries over the whole interior of the church took place, from beyond the ancient west door of the Cathedral¹ to the present east wall, the site of the western arch of the crossing of Bishop Villula's fabric (and extending eastwards over part of the floor of such crossing), enabled a tolerably fair idea of the character and style of the building to be obtained, at all events of the western half, for the choir and both transepts are still covered.

The plan of its nave-piers approximates to some of those at Norwich, the history of which building has many points as well as date of erection common with that of Bath.² Here the remains testified to so great a uniformity in minute peculiarities of mouldings as most conclusively proves the whole plan was that of one master-mason, nor afterwards departed from. (See plan of remains found.)

Its architectural history is briefly summarised thus. During the thirteen years of Bishop Godfrey, Villula's successor, the work proceeded; nor after his decease, in 1135, was its conclusion long delayed, for Bishop Robert is said not only to have finished the church, but to have

¹ Many people probably believe there was only an *abbey* church at Bath, forgetful of the special enthroneement of the bishops there, and such statements as "William Southbroke, Prior of the *Cathedral* Church of Bath" (1426-47).

² Herbert Lozinga removed the seat of that see from Thetford to Norwich in 1095, and founded his new Cathedral in 1096, and it (probably its choir) was consecrated in 1100.

erected also the chapter-house, dormitory, refectory, and so forth, of the monastery; after his death, August 31, 1166, deservedly receiving a founder's resting-place before the steps of the high altar. So complete, indeed, seems his work to have been, that save the accidental signature which tells that John was "*custos operis*" in 1206, one hundred and fifty years pass ere the fabric is again heard of,—silence rudely and strangely broken by the sending of a very sharp letter from Bishop Drokensford to the Prior of Bath, in 1301-31, relative to the "ruinous state of the building"; this coming from Wells, be it remembered, at or near the very moment of the roofing of the new central tower of that Cathedral. The necessary repairs at Bath the Bishop assisted by the not unusual process of an "*Indulgence*". It is doubtful whether the reparations could be extensive, as the consecration follows in the very next year, and is succeeded again by an architectural silence of even greater length than the first.

In or about the time of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury a new Chapter seal appears. On it the two patron Saints are seen standing under a rich canopy, and mutually support the model of a cross-church with central tower terminating in a fine spire,—a thing so rare in Somerset as to lead to suspecting it refers to further improvements taking place at that time; which very seal was used for the last time on the surrender-document in 1539.¹

Bishop Nicholas Bubwith (1424-67) contributed 328 marks, etc., towards buildings at Bath. The Convent in return agree to build in their church a chapel, wherein service was to be said for the repose of his soul. The very beautiful fragment of some such work laid open under the arch into the old transept, at the east end of the north aisle of the present choir, may have been connected therewith.

Finally, Bishop Oliver King, in 1500 or 1501, commenced a new building over so much of the old site as was covered by its nave and nave-aisles, for which purpose he re-used the materials of the old structure. Nearly

¹ The confirmation-document by John de Ifford, Prior of Bath, and his Chapter, of Bishop Ralph's gifts to the vicars of Wells, among the documents at Wells, bears an imperfect impression of this seal.

all its ashlar was thus obtained, with what is likewise seen in that part erected after the Bishop's death; the stone of the walling in the central tower, under the very roof, being partly of old ornamented stonework. All which carved ornamentation, when from the inside, yet retains the thick coats of repeated whitewash received when in its proper place. Their excellent condition in general renders Bishop Drokenstord's statement of the "ruination to the ground" to be accepted with considerable hesitation.¹

Bishop King spared parts of the west arches and walls of the crossing of the old Cathedral to form part of his new east end, by which circumstance traces of the responds of the west arch, into the nave, and also of those into the nave-aisles, remain; that to the south aisle from the south transept still retaining part of its arch, orders, caps, etc. This, when opened down to the ancient floor and steps to the transept (yet remaining underground), gave its whole height. Though Leland's statement seems to suggest the presbytery in his time was roofless, yet the eastern part of the old Norman flat ceiling of the nave must have been retained by Bishop King to cover the new site of the choir-services; or he had replaced a fresh, flat ceiling there over his new work, for the horizontal slot of square section, to receive the timber of such flat ceiling, exists to this day round the present choir-walls, just over the vaulting; to which cause is owing the adoption of that singular, square-headed east window most people have heard of as the peculiarity present in "The Bath Abbey". The flat and apparently vertical stones over this, through which also the slot passes, possess concealed arch-joints behind. The aisles of the Bishop's new choir were provided with flat, sloping roofs of wood and lead of the usual Somerset perpendicular type, by Britton said to be the Bishop's work; but if so, of necessity between 1502 and Aug. 29, 1503, which seems scarcely possible. It was the usual rich Somerset roof of carved and moulded timbers resting on

¹ The material is that *harder* class of Bath stone used by the Romans, and also in Saxon times, procured near Cottage Crescent, on the Roman road to Ilchester. The quoins of Bishop King's windows, etc., are of the much softer Coomb-down stone.

moulded braces supported on front shafts and ashlar-pieces, all on carved stone corbels; of which last the eastern one, on the north side of the south aisle (an angel holding a shield), yet remains in place, below the later fan-vault which superseded it.¹

More was seen of the old structure, through these late excavations, than ever before had been, though scattered notes in various quarters gave vague information derived from former openings. The most valuable of these are Britton's, in his account of the Bath Abbey, where, at p. 52, he prints the earliest recorded discoveries below the pavement of the church. Resolved into regular order, they show that part of the flooring of the old Cathedral had been seen, with parts of its pillars; the last, most likely, plinths of the south transept-gable still existing in the closed cellars in front of it. Next comes Mr. Manners' uncovering of the crossing piers (still open) in 1833, when a large amount of rich tile-pavement must have been destroyed. Fragments of old tile-flooring had also been exposed in both aisles, the loose tiles from which are now in the Museum.

Services and burials took place in the Church of St. Mary de Staulls so late as 1573 and 1589; but after 1572 the shell of the Abbey Church and Abbey had passed to the Corporation by gift or sale. Dismantled of every particle of which sale could be made, and after standing ruinous for thirty years, the corporate body, in 1573 or 1574, formed the present parish of SS. Peter and Paul, to which the choir and choir-aisles *only* became, in place of Staulls, the new church; the nave and its aisles, with the transepts, becoming the burial-ground both of

¹ Bishop Oliver King obtained his design probably from the designer of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, or at least an *east of England* architect. The arches were, therefore, intended all to have been four-centred, and were so executed during the Bishop's life; but after 1503 the Priors reverted to the far finer local *two-centred type of Somerset*, executed by their master-masons, Edward Leicester and John Multon. A singular record of this change exists on the exterior of the west front, where a careful eye will readily discover on either side, below the springing line of the present west window, some of the arch-stones and label of the four-centred design retained, but cut back into jamb-stones, part of the Somerset two-centred arch now replacing the first at 4 ft. 3 in. higher. The joint-lines are very visible, as Sir G. G. Scott had special care taken to preserve the joints which "diagram" this interesting architectural record

the greater part of the city, and of those strangers who might die at Bath.

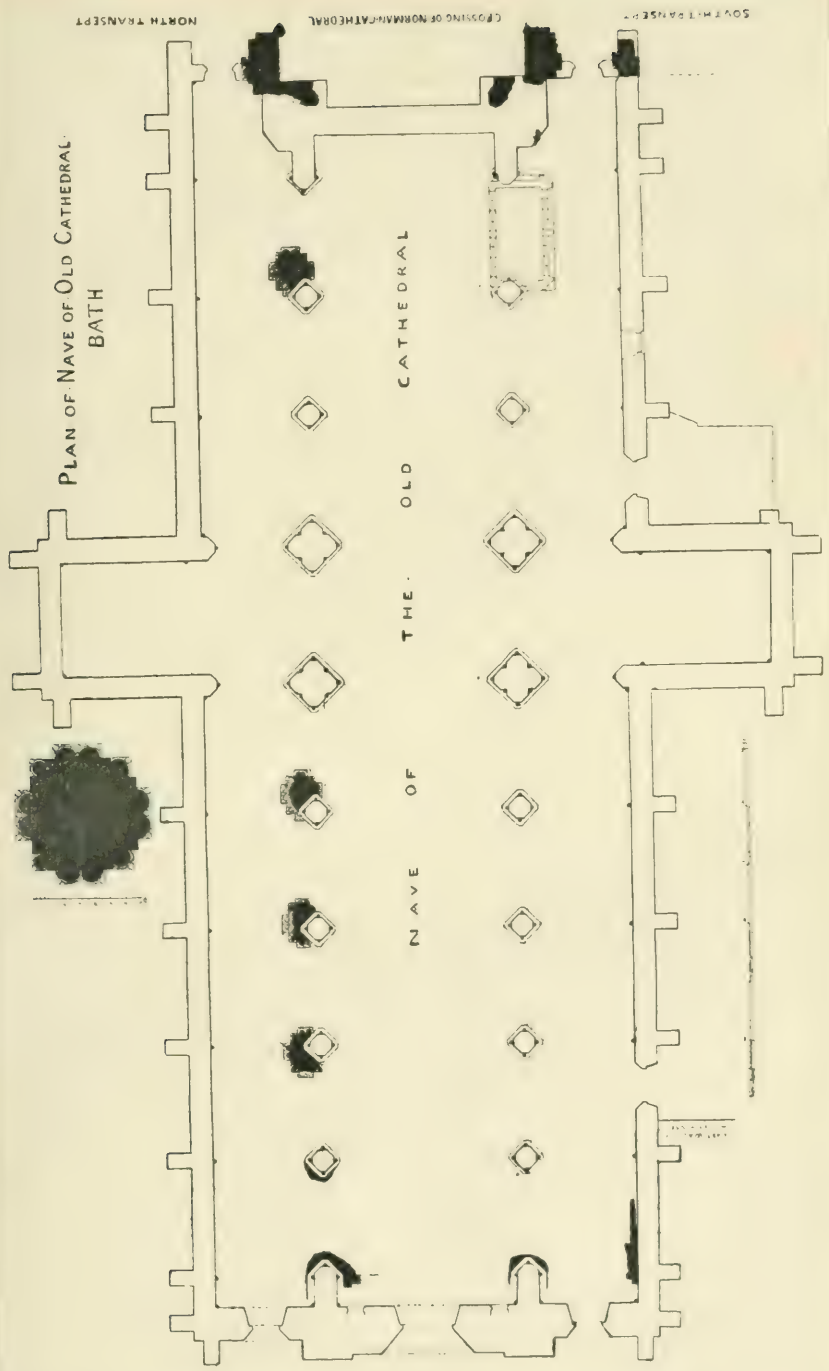
When the late Rector, Prebendary C. Kemble, desired to render back the whole interior for divine service, the first step of necessity was to seal down with solid concrete all remains below, during which work the fragments here described came to light. These, at Sir G. G. Scott's suggestion, were in each case walled round with brickwork for preservation, and to enable them to be seen.

The first discoveries took place at the ends of the vault containing the remains of Bishop Montague (died in 1618), to whose liberality and influence both nave and aisles owed their post-Reformation roofing. The parts then opened were the sides of piers fifth and sixth west from the crossing of the Norman structure, and of its north arcade; the remains of the seventh followed; of the eighth, only core remained. The floor is as nearly as possible 6 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. below the surface of the present one (that of Bishop King's structure); but the western bay's floor was but 2 ft. $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. only below such surface. A little way inside the present door lay some remains of the ancient one, which had a double opening. Part of the reveal of the bottom of its north jamb remained, but the inner quoin of its opening was destroyed. The length from that face of the reveal against which the ancient door shut to the probable west face of the west wall of crossing would be about 198 ft. 10 in.; and if measured from a like point in the reveal of the present door, 207 ft. 10 in. The length of the present church, *inside* the east and west walls, is about 204 ft. 4 in.

At a later period the first pillar west of the same arcade from the west arch of the crossing (in what is now the choir) was also exposed, the whole having precisely the same plan and mouldings, even to the most minute particular. All present like simple claws at the angles of the bases as seen in those of the crossing open to view outside the present east end. In front of the last named pillar in the choir, a part of the vault prepared by Bishop O. King to be his own resting-place¹ was found, its floor 4 ft. 9 in. below the present one. At the east end of the

¹ Beneath this, under the first arch on the north side, on the ancient pavement, lay the *pavement* of a much more early chantry chapel and its north screen.

PLAN OF NAVE OF OLD CATHEDRAL
BATH



north aisle (now of the choir, but then of the nave-aisle), four steps, 2 ft. 6 in., up into the north transept remained, and connected with them were the plinths of a very rich arch of Perpendicular date, which had again been removed for the later Perpendicular work of Bishop King.

The quantities of moulded stones of Norman age found from time to time at the Church and elsewhere in Bath are very considerable. Many are preserved in the vaults of the Museum at the Royal Institution,—bases, pillar-stones, caps, abaci, arch-stones, strings, parts of wall-arcades, stones from triforium and clerestories, great carved corbel-stones from under parapets, etc.; much of which, doubtless belonging to the transition period of Bishops Godfrey and Robert, enabling an approximate recovery of the general character of the Cathedral to be made. Some of the height-lines are recoverable also. The floor-surface of the east end of the nave was 6 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. below that of the present, while steps had led up into both the early transepts as well as into the crossing, whose tile-pavement *beyond* the boundary-railing remained in place, though much crushed. The section there cut through was as follows. Measuring downwards from the surface of the then foot-pavement (itself 1 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. above the surface of the choir-floor), first, lay the paving of the street on a depth of modern rubbish and earth of about 2 ft. 3 in.; then a thick bed of chippings and stone-dust, the waste of the masons of Bishop King. This rested on the ancient tile-pavement, whose surface was 6 ft. 1 in. below the footway, and therefore 1 ft. 8 in. higher than the floor of the old Cathedral nave, giving three steps up on the west side of the crossing. The 1-inch tiles lay on a plaster layer 1 inch thick, resting on 1 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. of concrete, under which were again two layers of clayish soil, the first, of 8 in. depth, more earthy than the second; the last, the dimensions suggest, was in truth the ground-level of Bishop Villula's age, and was $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. in depth, resting at a general depth of 9 ft. 11 in. on a yellowish gravel floor, or walk, of some 2 in. thickness; under which was a 2 ft. 6 in. layer of blackish earth containing bones of cattle (none human), and evidently at one time in use as a garden ground. Below which the layer of Roman deposit was reached, consisting of a mixture of

stones (some wall-stones of the usual V-plan), gravel, abundant fragments of pottery, Samian ware (ornamented and plain), potters' names (TINC..., MVX IVLII M, HABILIS M), black ware of all shapes, many parts of those shallow, vesica-shaped dishes so abundant at Bath, reddish and brown ware, mortars, etc.; and flat window-glass, with the one dull side from the casting-table, and other glass fragments. In this deposit a depth of a trifle over 14 ft. 7 in. was reached, though not its bottom.

The portion of tile-pavement uncovered reached from nearly half the central gangway to the south wall of the crossing, which filled up the base of the transept-arch about 3 ft. 3 in. in height. The design of the very beautiful tile-pavement was, as usual, a gangway, with on either side three strips of trellis-pattern tiling separated by borders, the outer of which was a hunting-scene. That strip next the centre was formed of tiles bearing the arms of Clare; the next, of Cornwall; that next the wall, of four tiles, the shields brought together in fours. These side-divisions had been again subdivided transversely into unequal lengths. Two interments, in stone coffins, lay in the pavement (the lid of one quite plain); the soft cushion to receive the head, in its recess, as also the leather soles of the slippers on the feet remaining. The other lid had a carved cross on it of late Early English date. The gangway at what appeared to be the centre of the crossing had a square of tiles differing in design from those westwards; and in the border-strip at each of its four corners there were laid in the floor stone sockets which must have received the corner-posts of a wooden canopy. East of this the design of gangway again became large square tiles bearing castles set angularly on the tile, four of which castles always made the pattern; and on the south border of this portion was another stone fixed that must have supported a wooden lectern or something of the sort. At the south screen-wall, a spot level with the tile-surface, but never having any tiles, seemed to prove some small stone object had likewise there been placed. The evidence of the floor, when exposed, proved that the choir-stalls could not have extended into the crossing, but were at Bath confined to the choir proper.

The unique arrangement of an elevated platform across

the whole western bay of the nave must not only have added grandeur to the front, but also to the glory of the processions, seen either outwardly, or by those who stood on the lower level of the nave, as they rose in mass, from the exterior, and advanced across the elevated platform towards the observers ; then descending, slowly wended their way through their midst, to re-ascend the steps at the crossing, before becoming lost to view beyond the screen in the choir of the monks.

From the spoils of the double western portal, or those of the chapter-house, probably came the richly carved caps (bearing scenes from the martyrdoms of saints) now built into the walls of the Mill at Batheaston. The present walls of the nave do not quite line with the Norman ones, and prevent discovery whether or not arcading existed on the north side (that best preserved).

Of the cloister, the only part seen was a fragment of Norman walling, nearly in line with that of the east side of the present vestry. On its west face a shallow Norman buttress seemed to mark it as that side next to the Bishop's Palace or "Bour".

Of the tufa vaulting of the Norman aisles, fragments came to light ; material no doubt obtained from like spots to those where it is still seen forming along the winding curves of the "Drangway" in the picturesque and beautiful glades of the Batheaston Valley, far up among whose delightful solitudes the Priors of Bath had a summer residence at St. Catherine's Court.

The longitudinal section presents the deposits in front of the west end of the church as exposed at a point in front of the north-west staircase ; the present west wall resting partly on the old one, partly on a foundation put in immediately in front of it. The trench for this was not a bit wider than the stonework, and cut so sharply to such line that about 6 in. in each case were cut clean off the feet of two coped slabs which lay near the ancient front ; the stones otherwise were not even moved. Below the modern pavement lay a bed of pure Bath stone dust nearly solidified back into solid substance. Then came blackish earth thrown out of the foundation-trench, which rested on the surface of the burial-ground of Bishop Oliver King's date (1500), on this lay the above mentioned slabs

covering burials. One bore a late floriated cross; the other, on each side of its cross the ordinary broad axe used still by the Bath stonemason, and a curious instrument, seemingly to set off splays of buttresses with. No doubt this was covering the resting-place of a mason, probably of the Cathedral.

At the depth of 3 ft. 3 in. below the pavement-surface a sort of gravelled walk was reached, of a further 3 in. thickness, and looked as if the path to the north-west doorway of the Cathedral of Villula's age. Beneath was a depth of made earth, 7 in. thick, which lay to an unknown distance northwards, and up to the line drawn westwards from the south face of the stairs, rested on a bed of solidly built rough stonework of Roman age, the south face of which was vertical. In front of this and to the south of the line mentioned, the black soil reached to a depth of some 2 ft. 7 in., resting on a sloping level of yellowish, moved gravel, washed down, as its triangular section and slope showed, from the built surface above. Beneath lay a bed of moved clay, coloured a reddish tint from the hot water deposit it contained, and full of flint flakes; so much so as to suggest that here, in very early periods, the hot water had by some contrivance been raised, and that the poorest bathers used these as scrapers as they rolled about in the warm mud. The stone building was of later date than the use of the pond, for when the excavation for its buildings had been made, such removal left 2 in. of the red deposit after the removal of 10 in. Below the base of the red deposit, the new excavation penetrated 1 ft. into the native and unmoved blue clay, which was entirely free from hot water deposit and flint flakes.

The deposits seem reducible, first, into the reddish clay and solid masonry, marking in the Roman age a rise of about 3 ft.; from 450 to 1090, a rise of 10 in. only; but from 1090 to 1500, 3 ft. 3 in. additional; after which a sudden increase from the level on which the late perpendicular monumental slabs lay, of upwards of 3 ft.; from that period to the time of Britton writing his account of the building, a depth equal to three steps, one of which was removed by Mr. Manners; and thanks to the public spirit of the present corporate body of Bath, the other two now also removed, leaving the elevation as seen to that height intended by Bishop King.

NOTES ON THE ROUND CHURCH TOWERS OF ESSEX. LAMARSH AND PENTLOW.

BY J. M. WOOD, ESQ.

(Read 4 Dec. 1889.)

THE name of this parish, Lamarsh, is supposed to be formed from the two Saxon words *lam* (dirt) and *merse* (a marsh). It is written in the records, Old Lamarsh, Lambmershe, Lamers, Lamershe, Lammershe, Laumershe.¹

Lamarsh Church.—This church of old time is dedicated to the Holy Innocents,² and is situated in the alluvial valley of the Stour, in the county of Essex, about three and a half miles south of Sudbury, Suffolk, and within a few hundred yards of the river Stour. The church overlooks the county of Suffolk, or part of the ancient kingdom of the East Anglians, with the river probably acting as the barrier, or the line of demarcation, of the ancient kingdoms, or the true home of the round towers.

In the Saxon chronicles I can find no mention of Lamarsh, nor in the *Domesday Book* is there any mention of a church, the only entry being as follows: "Lamers is held by Tuold of Ranulfus. It was held by Algar in the time of King Edward for a manor and for three and a half hides", etc.

The church itself is a modest little structure calling for very little remark, its period being Early English, with some of its windows of a later date. It is rectangular in plan, and consists of a nave and chancel, with a round tower at the west end, the tower being surmounted by a tiled spire or minaret of modern design. The west wall of the nave appears, by mere close inspection, to be built on to the circular part of the tower-walling, as shown in the sketch (fig. 1). Having carefully studied the tower

¹ See Morant.

² See Bacon's *Liber Regis*, 1786.

in conjunction with the church, its external appearance and proportion suggest that it belonged to a structure of much earlier date than the existing church, which appears modern when compared with the tower. The foundations of the present Early English church may have been laid upon those of the original structure to which I assume the tower belonged, but of this I have no direct evidence.

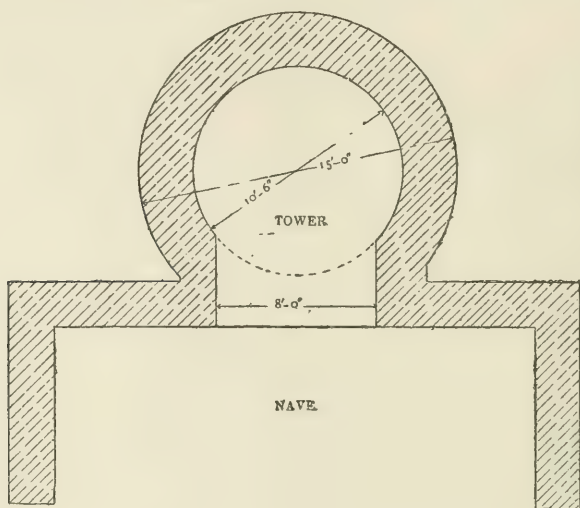


Fig. 1.—Plan of Lamarsh Church Tower.

There is, however, evidence in my mind to prove that the tower does not belong to the present structure, because, in the first place, the style of architecture is of an earlier period; besides which there is an entire want of symmetry between the tower and the church. In the second place, the walls of the nave do not appear to be bonded into the walls of the tower, but merely abut; neither is the rubble-masonry of the same character or thickness as that in the walls of the nave, the walls of the tower being somewhat thickest; besides which, the roof of the nave appears to be cut into the circular walling of the tower.

The tower appears to be perfectly round from base to summit, except where the nave-walls are joined into it. Had the tower and nave been built together, it seems reasonable to think that the face of the tower would have been built flat for the purpose of abutting the roof

against it. The tower is perpendicular both internally and externally, and of the same diameter at base and summit. Its proportion is $2\frac{3}{4}$ diameter, being 41 ft. high from the nave-floor to the top of the masonry. It has an external diameter of 15 ft., and an internal diameter of 10 ft. 6 in.; consequently the walls have a maximum thickness of 2 ft. 9 in.; but not being quite uniform, their thickness is in some places a minimum of 2 ft. 6 in. The external rubble-masonry of the tower is covered over with plaster or stucco; but in the upper part of the tower, internally, the original masonry can be seen; therefore on the outside it is difficult to trace the exact construction, but internally a good idea of it can be obtained.

The rubble-masonry of which the tower is built is of a very rough character, and might be called rough rubble-masonry; the material of which it is composed being principally chalk flints; some of the flints being water-worn and rounded, while others are of a rough and angular description—all sizes and shapes—being entirely of a local character, and no doubt obtained from the adjoining land and from the river-gravels of the valley. The stones are bedded in coarse lime-mortar, having thick layers of mortar between each stone.

From the masonry in the inside of the tower, where it has not been plastered over, one can see that some attempt has been made, on the part of the builders, to lay the stone with some respect to courses, but none of the stones have been cut or dressed in any way. Throughout the masonry, so far as I could see, there is no trace whatever of any worked stone, nor are there to be found any Roman tiles.

The only entrance to the tower is from the church, through a sharp-pointed tower-arch constructed of stone, and perfectly plain. It is evident that this arch is not the original tower-arch, but of the same period as the church, having probably been built when the walls of the existing nave were joined to the tower. The construction of the arch cannot be seen on account of the nave-walls and the lower parts of the tower having been plastered over.

The north-west face of the tower is now entirely destroyed, the original rubble-masonry being replaced by a

timber framing filled in with lath and plaster. The part destroyed is about 60° of the circle, the fracture being through the openings of the windows. Here one sees a capital section of the rubble-masonry as it was constructed, the appearance in section being more like rough, coarse concrete, the mortar being hard and brittle. The remaining walling is strong, but cracked in places, and would probably last for centuries provided the cracks were filled in, and the part destroyed made good, so as to keep out the weather. Taking the walling on the whole, it may be said to be a good specimen of early rubble-work.

The tower, like those before described (*viz.*, Great Leghs and Bromfield), is clear from base to summit, with the exception of a wood floor and framing for carrying the bell, which was cast in 1625, the framing being cut into the rubble-wallings.

On looking at the tower externally, and more particularly the south face, three small windows or openings will be seen, about 1 ft. wide, and 2 ft. 6 in. high, immediately above one another, and about equal distances apart. The lower window is slightly pointed, the external quoins of which are now formed of ordinary modern bricks, as nearly as I could ascertain; but on viewing the tower internally, remains of windows of exactly a similar character, and at the same level as those on the south face, will be seen on the north and west faces, the windows having been destroyed with the masonry, as before mentioned.

The window-openings are heavily splayed on the inside, the arcading being formed of rubble-work, with the marks of the wood-centring on which the arch was built being still visible on the mortar. Over each of the openings (internally) in the south face, and a few feet above the arch, are oak lintels, their function being, no doubt, to relieve the weight on the arch. These lintels are cut to the radius of the inside of the tower.

Having learned that Mr. A. W. Blomfield, F.S.A. (now Sir Arthur Blomfield), had restored the church some years ago, and thinking, perhaps, he might have had occasion to remove or make good some of the plaster, and could tell me something about the bonding, I decided to

write to him to ascertain his views about the tower generally, and he kindly replied as follows :—" My recollection is that there was scarcely any masonry at all ; the walls were all rubble, plastered within and without. The western arch was also plastered ; as far as I remembered, only a rude opening, 4 ft. wide. I cannot tell you as to the bonding or not of the tower-walls to the walls of the church, all walls being plastered outside. I always considered this tower to be Norman, and, like other similar towers, to have been built in this form to avoid quoins, which could hardly be formed with the materials used for the wall."

Pentlow Church Tower.—The name of the parish, Pentlow, is supposed to be derived from the word *Pent* and the Saxon word *lowe*. The meaning of the former is well known, and the latter signifies an eminence ; so that, if I am correct, the name denotes a hill or eminence, *pent*, here at the twining of the river Stour.¹

There is no mention of Pentlow in the Saxon chronicles, so far as I can ascertain ; neither is there any mention of a church at Pentlow in the *Domesday Book*, the only entry being as follows : " Pentelauua was held by a free woman, in the time of King Edward, for a manor and four hides and three virgates", etc.; and at the time of the *Survey* was held by Ralph Baynard, etc.

The church is delightfully situated in the valley of the river Stour, and within a few hundred feet of the river, and adjoins Pentlow Hall, which is a moated house, and was once the home of a Norman noble. It stands just within the present boundary of the county of Essex, and overlooks the village of Cavendish, in the county of Suffolk. It is about five miles north-north-west of Sudbury, and about ten miles north of Lamarsh Church. The church is said to be dedicated to St. Gregory (see Morant), but in Bacon's *Liber Regis vel Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* it is stated to be St. George, which is probably correct, and consists of a round, embattled tower, rectangular nave, and chancel, with a semicircular apse, and a Lady chapel on the north side, adjoining the church. This chapel belongs to the Kempe family, and contains a beautiful monument in good preservation, and worth a

¹ See Morant.

visit. In the semicircular apse is a fine altar-tomb, probably belonging to the Felton family, the date 1542 being scratched upon it ; but there is no inscription.¹ The old Parish Register is in excellent preservation, and dates from 1539.

The church is a remarkable structure with striking features, having the peculiar appearance of being circular at both ends, viz., a round tower at the west end, and a circular apse at the east.

Having examined the church as a whole, with an unbiassed mind, and some degree of care, I was once more led to believe that the tower belonged originally to a structure of greater antiquity than the existing church, for the reason that the walls of the tower are of much greater thickness than the walls of the nave ; besides, the character of the rubble-masonry appears different in the walling ; and for other reasons which will be hereafter stated.

The nave, chancel, and circular apse were built probably in the fourteenth century, the style being Early Pointed. The nave and chancel are separated by a fine Pointed arch of the above period, being of rather large proportions, spanning the whole width of the nave. But a question may suggest itself,—Why was the circular apse built in the fourteenth century, being a style so peculiarly Norman ? To account for this one is led to suppose that the original Norman church was either destroyed or removed, and the existing structure built on the foundations. Now as to the tower, which, as before stated, is at the west end of the nave, and is so placed that the walls of the nave appear to be built into the circular work of the tower, as shown on the sketch, fig. 2.

I have not been able to ascertain with any definite degree of certainty if the walls of the nave are really bonded into the walling of the tower, forming, as it were, one original piece of rubble-masonry ; or whether the walls abut, forming a division such as exists at Broomfield, the tower there being entirely separated from the walls of the nave. The reason that one is not able to settle this important point is because the tower is plastered

¹ Rev. F. E. P. Bull, Rector, is my authority for this.

over within and without. I am, however, strongly under the impression that the tower-walling is not part and parcel of the nave-wall, but merely abuts.

The tower, like the others described, is perfectly round on plan, except where it is joined on to the nave-wall. It is clear internally from base to summit, with the exception of a wooden floor and ladders reaching up to the framing for carrying the five bells, which have the following inscriptions upon them:—

- "Miles Graye made me, 1665." (Letters are small capitals.)
- "Miles Graye made me, 1662." (Letters are small capitals.)
- "Miles Graye made me, 1628." (Letters are large capitals.)
- "John Thornton made me, 1711." (Letters are large capitals.)¹

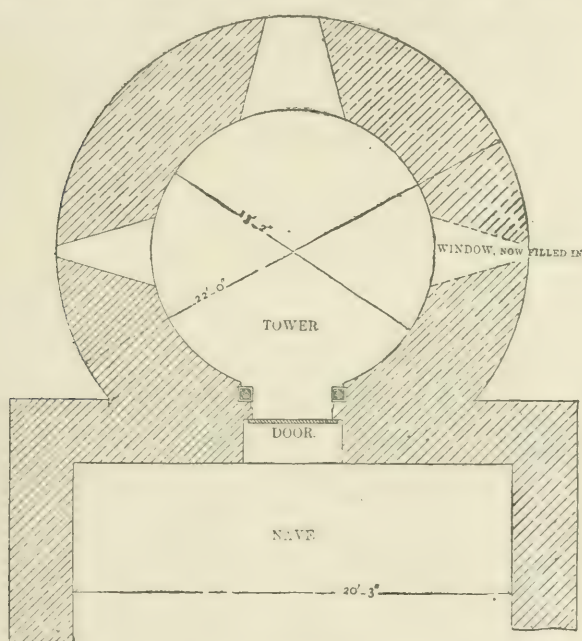


Fig. 2.—Plan of Pentlow Church Tower.

The walls are nearly perpendicular both internally and externally, the tower being about the same diameter at base and summit. Practically speaking, there is no batter to the tower.

The proportion of the tower is $2\frac{1}{3}$ diameters in height, being 51 ft. high from the nave-floor to the top of the

¹ Authority, Rev. F. E. P. Bull, Rector.

stonework forming the embattlements, or 48 ft. high to the top of the flat lead roof. It has an external diameter of nearly 22 ft., and an internal diameter of 13 ft. 2 in.; the wall, therefore, being of the great thickness of 4 ft. 5 in. to 4 ft. 6 in.; the walls of the nave being only from 2 ft. 6 in. to 3 ft. thick.

The rubble-masonry of the tower is of a rough character, similar in many respects to that in the towers of Great Leghs, Broomfield, and Lamarsh; the materials being also entirely local, viz., rounded and angular flints, besides nodules of water-worn sandstones brought probably by the "drift", and picked up in the river-gravels. All are bedded in coarse lime-mortar.

In the inside of the tower, about half way up, the original rubble-masonry may be seen, not having been plastered over. From its appearance one would at once say that it was built at an early period, and like the rubble-work in the other towers before described, very little attempt has been made to lay the material in course. But in the upper part of the tower a different condition of things exists. Here the rubble-masonry has been carefully built in course; each stone seems to have been separately set and pointed. One can see at once that the upper part of the tower is rather of a later period, or been rebuilt, probably the latter.

Externally, the tower is unlike Great Leghs and Broomfield, in that its summit is finished off by being embattled with Barnack stone, while the before mentioned towers are all surmounted by spires. Beneath the flint embattlements are a few odd pieces of Roman tiles.

The tower at one time had nine openings in it, viz., three in the lower part, three at a higher level, and three a short distance from the top (see photograph). These openings, or their remains, are to be seen on the south, west, and north faces, immediately above one another. The lowest opening on the south face is a mere rectangular slit, 6 in. wide, and 2 ft. 8 in. high, having Barnack stone quoins, and a square stone head or lintel slightly splayed; while that on the west face is a large, pointed, perpendicular window in a wood frame; the original slit having probably been cut away to make room for the window. On the north face, and at the same level, are

the remains of a similar slit to that on the south face ; but it is now filled in, the stone quoins and head remaining. The openings in the next tier are also rectangular slits about 9 in. wide, and of a similar character to those below, and look much like the original openings. The three upper windows, or *louvres*, are pointed, having Perpendicular tracery and stone mullions. From the position and appearance of the rectangular openings, one is led to think they formed part of the original design of the tower, while the pointed windows are of a much later period, being probably the work of mediæval architects. The west window in the lowest tier was, no doubt, inserted for the purpose of giving more light to the interior of the lower part of the tower, which is now occupied as a vestry. The three upper, pointed windows were evidently inserted at the same time as the lowest west window, or *vice versâ*, being of the same character and period. These windows or *louvres* give light to the bells, and were, no doubt, inserted for some purpose in connection therewith, probably when the bells were fixed.

The only entrance to the tower is from the nave, through a stone semicircular tower-arch of Norman design, 4 ft. 7 in. wide, and 10 ft. 3 in. high to the soffit. The inner ring or intrados of the arch is perfectly plain, also the sides of the opening; and when looked at towards the tower, from the inside of the nave, it has the appearance of an ordinary, plain, semicircular, Norman arch with square stone quoins. This inner ring of stone, I am led to think, formed the original tower-arch.

Having entered the tower, and looked towards the east, the arch presents itself under entirely a different aspect. Instead of looking, as one would have expected to do, upon a plain, semicircular tower-arch, one sees a beautiful early Norman semicircular doorway fixed within the tower-arch. (See sketch, fig. 3.) The semicircular arch of the doorway is formed of plain rings of stone and a bold, half-round, ogee-moulding. It is supported on each side of the opening by a beautiful, slender stone column, the shaft of which is quite plain, and about 5½ in. diameter, having a cap or capital richly carved with floral decoration, the design being different on each capital, and on each face of the capital visible. The shafts

are supported on pedestals having plain mouldings, the stone of which the columns are formed being Barnack of a rather coarse texture, while the stone forming the arch is a close-grained limestone.

A great part of this beautiful doorway, with its columns and mouldings, are built partly, as before stated, within the tower-arch, and made to appear as forming part of it, while a part of the carved capitals, etc., are buried within the walling of the tower.

On looking at the doorway as a whole, it certainly strikes one as being entirely out of place, and having the appearance of being stuck into its present position, forming in no way any part of the original tower-opening. To account for part of the arch-columns and capitals being buried in the wall, it seems probable that the walling had to be cut away to accommodate the doorway in its new position, and when fixed the rubblework was made good again, care only being taken to preserve the contour of the circular work of the tower, thereby allowing the flintwork to overlap or bury part of the doorway.

Just above the centre of the semicircular arch forming the doorway, and built into the walling of the tower, is a stone Norman grotesque head, which certainly appears out of place, and looks as if it had been placed there with the object of preserving it.

Neither can I think that the semicircular arch forming the doorway is coeval with the beautiful columns which support it. One can hardly imagine such delicate columns designed to support an arch carrying such a mass of superincumbent material; nor can one imagine such carved columns forming part of an arch devoid of all ornament. Neither must it be forgotten that the stone

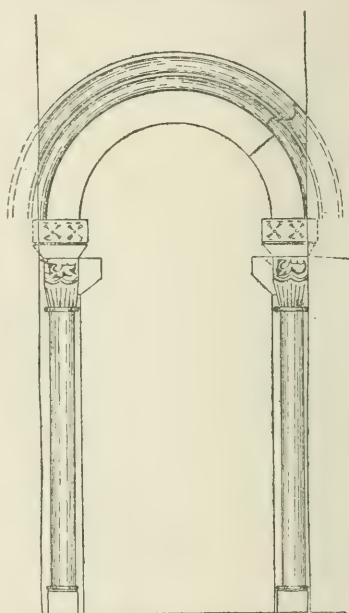


Fig. 3.—Elevation of Doorway in Tower of Pentlow Church.

of which the columns are made is of an entirely different character to that forming the arch.

The doorway as a whole certainly has the appearance of having been made up of pieces belonging to two different doorways (probably parts of the north or south entrances to the original church), and that they were placed in their present position with the sole object of preserving them. All the openings in the inside of the tower, especially the slits, are heavily splayed on all sides except the top, the splays in this tower being much heavier than in those previously described. The quoins of the splays are formed in Barnack stone and coarse, shelly limestone, and appear to have been inserted at a later period; but on this point I am not particularly clear.

In the nave, and close to the north door, is a very handsome stone font, probably of the transitional Norman period, although stated by some to be late Saxon,—say 1150. It is in one block, 2 ft. 9 in. square, and 1 ft. 6 in. deep, and I am not quite clear if it is Barnack stone or a coarse, shelly limestone. All its four faces are beautifully and richly carved with floral designs, and on each face the design is different. The four corners are represented by four columns having carved capitals and moulded pedestals. This font is probably coeval with the columns forming part of the doorway in the tower, and no doubt belonged to the original church. The font stands upon a rubble masonry pedestal about 2 ft. high, and is surmounted with an exceedingly elegant wood canopy which opens with doors (being a good specimen of the florid style), of about the fifteenth century.

There are many other points of interest in the church worthy of remark; but they are external to the province of this paper.

It has been asserted by ancient and modern county topographers, besides well known antiquarians, that this tower is strictly Norman; others say that it is after the Danish manner of building, whatever that may have been; while others declare that the original Norman church had the existing tower-arch, with its patchwork columns and ornamental capitals, for its western doorway or main entrance, and that the tower was built up

against this old Norman doorway at the time the existing Early English church was built.

On visiting Pentlow Church I found the nave had lately been restored by that eminent architect and antiquarian, Mr. William Fawcett, F.S.A., of Cambridge; so I determined to write to him and ask his opinion with reference to the tower and the west entrance. He kindly replied as follows:—

“At Pentlow there must, I think, have been a church before the round tower was built. We cannot imagine any one so foolish as to build that beautiful west door in a position in which it would hardly ever be seen, and with parts of it buried in the tower-wall. The tower-builders probably intended to remove it to some other position in due time; or if not, probably did not admire it, but thought it old-fashioned. It is astonishing how little the work of one generation was appreciated by the immediate succeeding ones. There is nothing either in the tower that would show it to be earlier than the nave, so I feel no doubt about it myself. There is a similar case at Polstead in Suffolk, near Bures. In both these cases they have evidently been elaborate and stately west entrances.”

It hardly becomes me to differ with those who take this latter view, especially this eminent antiquarian, but it certainly appears to me, from the style of the tower, its proportions as compared with the other Essex towers, the thickness of the walls as compared with those in the church, the character of the rubble masonry, and for other reasons before mentioned, that the tower is of greater antiquity than any other part of the church, excepting, perhaps, the font and columns, and that the tower-arch proper is coeval with the tower.

Had the tower been built at the same period as the church, or even at a later period, it is probable its east face would have been built flat, for the convenience of abutting the nave roof against, whereas it is round, necessitating an awkward joint by cutting the nave-roof into the circular walling of the tower.

Mr. Gage, in his paper before the Society of Antiquaries in 1829, makes no observation on this round-towered church, which is remarkable, as its features are striking.

It is evident he was not aware of its existence, although he visited Bartlow Church, just on the borders of Cambridge, within about fourteen miles of Pentlow, with its round tower, and gives a drawing of it in his paper.

Once more quoting from Gage's paper, in which he says, "The Saxon copy of *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, in the Cottonian Collection at the British Museum, contains an illumination or drawing of a church with a round tower: it was not unreasonable to expect to find at least one tower that might pass as Anglo-Saxon, but all these thoughts vanished when the towers themselves came before me in review."

To satisfy my curiosity I have examined this beautiful illuminated eleventh century MS., and on p. 7 I find an illuminated drawing of a building which I assume to be a sacred edifice. This building has a round tower or turret. On p. 28 is a drawing in perspective of what appears to be a square fortress or castle, the angles of which are round towers. Proceeding further, on p. 33 is an illuminated drawing of a building, probably a church, and the one referred to by Gage, having what I take to be an unmistakable round tower (see sketch, fig. 4), having a rectangular opening in the base, with a semicircular arch over it: this has the appearance of being the main entrance into the tower. At a higher level are two round holes or openings with a rectangular slit between them; at a higher level still the tower is smaller in diameter, with similar openings.

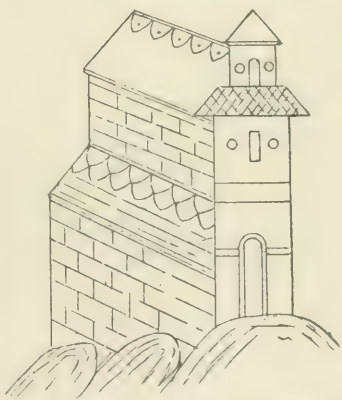


Fig. 4. An Anglo-Saxon Round Tower.

Besides this particular Saxon MS. there are others also containing illustrations of round towers. Surely this is evidence to support Mr. Brock's idea that the origin of the round towers of Suffolk and Norfolk are due to the Saxons. But there is one thing certain, and that is, if the Saxons did not build round towers, they were cognisant of the style, otherwise they would not have illustrated them in their manuscripts.

Fergusson, in his *History of Architecture*, states, with reference to round churches and towers, the following :—
“The idea of round building seems to date from very early times. They existed in the form of basilicas and tombs at Rome ; and a round tower is to be found at the Port of Ravenna, attached to the Church of St. Apollinare in Classe. The church is said to have been commenced in 538, and dedicated 549 A.D. It is of the Romanesque style.”

With reference to the round towers of Suffolk and Norfolk, he states that there are in Norfolk and Suffolk some forty or fifty churches with round western towers ; but as a matter of fact there are one hundred and seventy-four,¹ which seem undoubtedly to be mere modifications of the western round nave of Scandinavian churches. These Norfolk churches with round towers may consequently be looked upon as safe indexes of the existence of Scandinavian influences in the Eastern Counties, and also as interesting examples of the mode in which a compromise is frequently hit upon between the feelings of intrusive races and the habits of the previous inhabitants. It can scarcely be doubted that round naved and round towered churches existed in the Eastern Counties anterior to the Norman conquest ; and if any still remain, they have not been described. The earliest that are known were erected during the Norman period, and extend certainly down to the end of the Edwardian period.

Now with reference to these remarks of Fergusson's, I am somewhat at a loss to know how he arrived at such a conclusion, viz., that the round towers of Norfolk owe their origin or development to the existence of Scandinavian influence in the Eastern Counties. The expression, “Scandinavian influence”, is somewhat broad and vague. It is difficult to know exactly what Fergusson intended to imply. It may be that he intended to apply it to all those races which invaded Britain from the first coming of the Saxons down to the Norman conquest ; or, on the other hand, he may have intended it to mean the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes. I assume the latter.

We have no record, as far as I am aware, of any Swedish

¹ “On the Round Towers of Churches in East Anglia,” by Edward Roberts, F.S.A., in *Journal*, vol. xxi, p. 162.

settlement in our islands. As for the Norwegians, they only occupied, as far as I know, the Orkneys and Shetlands and the northern parts of Scotland, whereas there is evidence to prove conclusively that the Danes occupied in considerable numbers all our northern and eastern counties.

According to the Saxon chronicles the Danes first landed in England about 787 A.D.; but I believe they made piratical invasions prior to this date. It was not, however, until 866 that they invaded Britain with the idea of colonising a part of it, and it was not until 870 that they conquered East Anglia. From the first landing of the Scandinavian race until 1013, when the Danish kings commenced to rule, the Scandinavian invasion may be looked upon as a period of continuous, barbaric fighting, robbing, plundering, and burning; besides it is recorded that in several instances they burnt many early monasteries, etc. Under these conditions, and many others which I could mention, it hardly seems probable that architecture owes much of its development to Scandinavian influence.

If the round towers owe their origin to Scandinavian influence, why are they only to be found in such a small portion of the country they invaded? I am under the impression that during the period the Scandinavian races were invading our island, architecture in their own country was in a rude and undeveloped condition. So far as my research into Scandinavian history has yet carried me, I have failed to discover any record or trace of circular building, except circular barrows, either in Norway, Sweden, or Denmark; and further, I am under the impression that prior to the commencement of the eleventh century the Scandinavian races had not embraced Christianity, and were to a certain extent barbarians. Of course I am well aware of the existence of their round churches and semicircular apses of the later part of the eleventh century,—a style they may probably have learnt from our own island.

Had Fergusson stated that the round towers of Norfolk owed their origin to the Saxons, I would not so much have doubted it, as it seems more probable that the Saxons could have introduced or developed round

towers, coming as they did from that part of the Continent where undoubtedly architecture was in a higher state of development ; besides which, it is recorded that round towers existed on the Rhine at early times.

In offering these latter remarks I must ask you to accept them with caution, as I have not yet sufficiently studied the subject from the point of view mentioned. I have merely thrown out the remarks as a suggestion.

In conclusion I beg to thank the Association for allowing me to communicate these notes, and I also take this opportunity of thanking those gentlemen who have in any way assisted me in pursuing this research so far, and I apologise for coming before you this evening without any absolutely new evidence in support of the origin of these highly interesting structures.

THE TOMB OF JOAN BEAUFORT, COUNTESS OF WESTMORELAND,

HER PLACE IN HISTORY, AND CONNECTION WITH DARLINGTON.

BY J. P. PRITCHETT, ESQ.

(Read during the Lincoln Congress, 1889.)

I HAVE kindly been asked by Mr. Brock to write a short paper for this Congress, and willingly comply, as I think it the duty of all members to assist as far as it is in their power. I have, however, been at a loss for a subject, because I think papers on the locality of each Congress are best prepared by antiquarians on the spot, and intimately acquainted with local subjects; or by gentlemen from a distance, who having made any branch of antiquities their special study, can bring such special knowledge to bear on objects of that nature to be found in the locality of each Congress.

I might as an architect go into raptures about the beautiful Cathedral, which I think nine architects out of every ten would pronounce the most *beautiful* in the kingdom, though it may not have the historical associations of Canterbury, the size and spacious symmetry of York, or the grand massiveness of Durham; or I might, perhaps, manage to compose a paper on Roman, or Engle, or Danish Lincoln. But I leave all these to those who have either local knowledge, or have made a special study, and acquired a name in any of the above periods of archæology.

There is, however, one comparatively secondary subject on which I think I can, without impropriety, occupy a few minutes of your valuable time. It will, no doubt, be in the recollection of some present, that at the Darlington Congress a good deal was seen and said and written about the great Neville family. I had the pleasure of writing and reading a paper on the "Works of the Nevilles round Darlington", which was printed, with plans of six of their castles and three of their churches, in the *Journal* for 1887, p. 217.

You visited their Castles of Raby, Middleham, and Barnard, and their churches of Staindrop and Barnard Castle, and saw, among other mementos, several of their monuments in Staindrop Church, one of which is one of the most beautiful altar-tombs in the country. This beautiful monument was erected to the memory of Ralph Neville, the great Earl of Westmoreland, and his two wives, by himself, and therefore must be between 1370 (the date of his first wife's death) and 1426 (the date of his own decease); most probably put up about 1420.

His second wife died Nov. 13th, 1440, just seventy years after his first wife, but she was not buried at Staindrop; and it is the connection between the neighbourhood of Darlington and the city of Lincoln, through this royal lady, that I wish for a few moments to bring to your notice, for she was buried in the choir of *Lincoln Cathedral*, by the side of her mother, and her sepulchre is with us unto this day, and we saw it on Tuesday. The inscription was as follows, though now destroyed :

“Filia Lancaster Ducis inclita, sponsa Johanna
Westmerland primi subjacet hic comitis
Desine, scriba, suas virtutes promere, nulla
Vox valeat merita vix reboare sua,
Stirpe, decore, fide [tum¹], fama, spe, prece, prole ;
Actibus et vita polluit immo sua.
Natio tota dolet pro morte. Deus tulit ipsam,
In Bricii festo, C. quater M. quater X.”

Which may be translated thus :—

Beneath lies Joan, the famous daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, and wife of the first Earl of Westmoreland. Cease, scribe, from describing her virtues. No words are strong enough to faintly re-echo her merits. She was distinguished for her birth, her beauty, and her faithfulness, for her reputation, her faith, her prayers, and her children. Nay, more, for her acts and for her life. The whole nation sorrows for her death. God took her on St. Brice's Day (13 Nov.), 1440.

It is not my intention to say much about the Nevilles now; but I think as the Association three years ago visited the tomb of the great Earl, and monument of his royal wife, and we are now visiting the lady's tomb, it

¹ “Tum” not in Dugdale's copy. See note at end of paper.

may be interesting to the members present to call attention in a few words to their place in history.

The first Earl of Westmoreland may be called the central figure of the great Neville family. They had been increasing in power and wealth for many generations, especially in the person of his grandfather, Lord Ralph Neville, the hero of the battle of Neville's Cross, fought just outside the city of Durham, Oct. 17, 1346; and in the person of his father, Lord John Neville, who was present as a boy at the same battle, became the greatest soldier of his age, and acquired great wealth not only from his professional pay, but from his share of the ransom of King David of Scotland, who had been taken captive at Neville's Cross; which share was 24,000 marks, equal probably to about a quarter of a million pounds of our money.

He built Raby Castle, and left enormous wealth, with part of which his son, Lord Ralph Neville, enlarged Raby and Brancepeth and Middleham Castles, and built Sheriff Hutton, the largest of them all. This Lord Ralph, who flourished in the time of Richard II, had more than his share of honours and emoluments showered upon him by that unfortunate King, his being one of the three earldoms created by Richard II.

We now come to his marriage with the lady whose tomb we see here,—an event which I think had a greater influence on English history than is generally mentioned in historical books. This lady, Joan Beaufort, was the daughter of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swineford, and when, by special Act of Parliament, she and her brothers were made legitimate, they took their surname from the place of their birth, Beaufort. She was, therefore, half-sister to Henry of Monmouth, commonly called Bolingbroke.

Richard II was deposed by this Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and his cousins, Lord Percy, first Earl of Northumberland, and his brother, the Earl of Worcester, all of whom had been created Earls, and the only Earls created by Richard II. What was their motive in deposing their old benefactor, Richard II, and setting up Henry of Monmouth as King, and thus commencing the contest of the Roses, which desolated England at inter-

vals for three-quarters of a century? No doubt it was because they saw in this marriage of the Earl with Henry's half-sister, Joan Beaufort, that they could work such a revolution to their advantage by the family connection; and no doubt the Nevilles were influenced by the prophecy handed down for many generations, that the descendants of Fitz-Maldred (who married the heiress of Neville about 1250, and took their name) should succeed to the throne of England. Anyhow, the prophecy was fulfilled through the children of this royal lady. Her fourteenth and youngest child (his twenty-third child), Ciceley Neville, "The Rose of Raby", married Richard the great Duke of York, and she thus became mother of Edward IV and Richard III, grandmother of Edward V and of the Princess Elizabeth, Queen of Henry VII, and so direct ancestor of our present royal family; whilst her great-granddaughter, Anne Neville, youngest daughter of Richard Neville, the great Earl of Warwick, "the King-Maker", became Queen of Richard III, and mother of the last Plantagenet prince. It is said, and I believe truly, that every royal family in Europe, except the Turkish, can trace their descent through one branch or another of the descendants of Ciceley, "The Rose of Raby", and therefore from her mother Joan, whose tomb we have here.

I hope, therefore, this page of English history will not be considered out of place, or devoid of interest, in this city,—a city so intimately connected with her father, John of Gaunt. I think one of the chief advantages of archæology, and especially of Congresses like this, is that by studying and visiting places of historic interest in different parts of the country we can better realise the scenes and events of history; clothe, as it were, the dry bones of history with the flesh and blood of personal reality; and I think this is intensified if, when we visit such places, at distances from each other, we study their connection in the page of history; and I therefore hope that this connection between the great persons whose works and tombs you saw in the county of Durham, and the tomb of this important lady you see here, may not be without interest to those present.

Those members of the Congress who, like myself, had the pleasure of visiting Haverholme Priory, the residence of the President, the Earl of Winchilsea, will remember seeing a valuable manuscript book by Sir William Dugdale. Lord Winchilsea has kindly compared the inscription which I obtained from other sources with the above MS. His Lordship has also sent me the following note on the MS., which will, no doubt, be interesting to the members :—

“The Dugdale MS. descended by inheritance together with the Hatton estates. Sir William Dugdale speaks thus of it in his life of himself prefixed to the second edition of *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London*. Date, 1716 :—‘The said Mr. Dugdale therefore received encouragement from Sir Christopher Hatton, then a member of the House of Commons (who timely foresaw the near approaching storm), in summer anno 1641, having with him one Mr. William Sedgwick (a skilful Arms Painter), repair'd first to the Cathedral of St. Paul's in London, and next to the Abbey Church of Westminster, and there made exact Draughts of all the Monuments in each of them, copying the Epitaphs according to the very letter; as also all the Arms in the windows, or cut in stone; and having done so rode to Peterborough in Northamptonshire, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark upon Trent, Beverley, Southwell, Kingston upon Hull, York, Selby, Chester, Litchfield, Tamworth, Warwick, and did the like in all those Cathedrals, collegiate, conventual, and divers others Parochial Churches wherein any Tombs or Monuments were to be found, to the end that the memory of them, in case of that destruction then imminent, might be preserved for future and better times; which Draughts are in the Custody of the now Lord Hatton, being tricked by Mr. Sedgwick, then servant to the said Sir Christopher Hatton.’”

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF CROWLAND : ITS CHARTERS AND ANCIENT CROSSES.

BY A. S. CANHAM, ESQ.

(*Read 15 Jan. 1890.*)

THE disputes of learned critics so hampered my mind for years as to the facts of the history of Crowland, that I became nearly a sceptic to all statements that I could not confirm by personal experience. Some who have written on the subject seemed to have done in all seriousness for Crowland what the learned Whateley did as an exercise in satire for Bonaparte; that is, raised grave and plausible doubts as to any real historic existence. Starting from false premisses, they have reared on a foundation of plausible prejudice a structure of delusive romance.

It is now nearly half a century since I first remember speculating on the history of Crowland Abbey. All that my childish inquiries produced were a few legendary stories or fairy tales as unreal as they were nonsensical. I was told that subterranean passages extended to Thorney and Peterborough, and that immense wealth, once belonging to the Monastery, lay hid somewhere near, in deep wells, which was guarded by fairies.

Reverence for the grand old pile carried me through this superstitious stage, and at length I came into possession of a copy of Ingulphus' History. This was about the time the addition was made to the graveyard, when the site of the choir, the southern transept, and the cloisters, were dug over to a good depth to obtain material for erecting the new boundary-wall. At once many of the apparent inconsistencies and mysteries vanished as foundation after foundation was disentombed, many of them having in them the remains of former buildings. There were also stone coffins in abundance. I no longer doubted the antiquity, greatness, and grandeur of the Abbey and its history.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Gough, Stukeley, Dug-

dale, and a host of learned antiquaries, to elucidate the history of the Abbey, a host of disputants on the other side have done their best to discredit Ingulphus, and some of them to totally deny the existence of either the Abbey or its charters prior to the time of Turketyl, which was about the middle of the tenth century.

H. T. Riley, the translator of Bohn's edition of Ingulphus, says in the introduction to that work, "that for many years after the first publication of Ingulphus there was no suspicion that any part of it was spurious". He further states that Sir H. Spelman, Sir W. Dugdale, Selden, and Stillingfleet, all relied upon the authority of the work; but from the time Wharton discovered certain anachronisms in the attestation of the earlier Saxon charters, doubts have been very generally entertained of the genuineness of the documents, and by some as to the history itself. Hicks and Palgrave are amongst the doubters, and those who desire to follow the objectors may find a very able and exhaustive essay on the subject in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1857. Mr. H. Scale English, in his *History of Crowland and Burgh*, has also produced a mass of quotations to try to prove the falsity of much of the history.

The earnestness and ingenuity of these critics are undeniable; but the existing ruins, with their multiplicity of style, have the truth of their history burnt into them indelibly.

It will be readily assumed that I do not intend following these learned iconoclasts into speculative discussion, but taking the firm ground of undisputed, existing facts, shall try to argue up to past realities. The light thrown on history by the excavations lately made for the preservation of the Abbey almost tempt me to rest my argument on the ruins; but as it is the charters that are primarily attacked, I propose to consider them in relation to the boundaries set forth in them.

Ethelbald, Wichtlaf, Edred, and Edgar, granted charters to the Monastery at Crowland, which conferred upon it both great wealth and wide influence. At the time of the destruction of the Abbey by the Danes, in 870. there can be but little doubt that all the then existing charters were destroyed or lost; and so again in 1091, when the

Monastery was almost totally burnt down. Of this conflagration, Ingulphus the historian (who himself had been an eye-witness) thus describes the event. He says :—“Going up stairs into our muniment-room we found that although it had been covered throughout with an arching of stone, the fire had still made its way through the wooden windows, and that although the presses themselves appeared to be quite safe and sound, still all our muniments therein were burnt into one mass, and utterly destroyed by the intense heat of the fire, just as though they had been in a furnace red hot, or an oven at a white heat. Our charters of extreme beauty, written in capital letters, adorned with golden crosses and paintings of the greatest beauty, and formed of materials of matchless value, which had been there deposited, were all destroyed. The privileges also granted by the Kings of the Mercians,—documents of extreme antiquity, of great value, exquisitely adorned with pictures in gold, written in Saxon characters, were all burnt. The whole of our muniments, great and small, were in a night of blackest hue utterly destroyed.”

Then follows a most reasonable account of how they were replaced. It appears copies of some, if not all, of the charters had been in use in the cloisters by the juniors for instruction in the art of writing, and from these and memory a new set was produced. What other resort was open to the Monastery? And if faithfully performed, what course could have been more just than thus to have reproduced their charters, and get them confirmed by the reigning monarch, as was done?

Although Ingulph had influential ecclesiastical friends in Dunstan and others, the lynx eye of Ivo Taillebois, Lord of Holland, his near neighbour and inveterate enemy, would have, amongst his many other annoyances, only been too glad of a chance of exposing any absolute forgeries. There can be no doubt but that such precious documents as charters, upon which their means of existence depended, would not only be copied, but committed to memory, so that if destroyed in that turbulent age they could be readily replaced. And here we have the undoubted cause of the anachronisms. The scribe working from memory or dictation would reproduce ancient

ideas in Norman phraseology; and can there be any wonder that historic errors in the names of the signatories would thus creep in, and similarly, interpolations and glosses would afterwards get inserted either as explanatory matter, or to serve some private end?

There is no disputing the fact that the documents in question contain historical inaccuracies as well as linguistic inconsistencies. Wharton, in his *History of the Bishops and Deans of London and St. Asaph* (published in 1695), notices the following errors in the attestations. He finds the charter of Ethelbald attested by Wynfrid and Aldwin, Bishops of Mercia and Lichfield; that of Wichtlaf by Godwin, Bishop of Rochester; that of Beored by Alewin, Bishop of Winchester; at times when none of these prelates were filling the sees thus assigned to them.

Hickes strongly states that the origin of the so-called Saxon charters was posterior to the time of the Saxon kings, and cites many of what he considers anachronisms. Amongst the number are the following: "*leuca*", a league; "*sewera*", a drain; "*chirographum patens*", patent chirograph; "*saisons*", seasons; and "*centum libras legalis monete*", one hundred pounds of lawful money. These words and phrases bear strong traces, he states, of Norman or Gallic origin. He also remarks upon the mention of the Benedictines as "*Nigri Monachi*", Black Monks, a name by which the Benedictines were not known in this country at the time. The charters of Wulpher, Bertulph, and Thorold, also contain Normanic expressions,— "knights", "feuds", "villeins", and similar terms, are used for a date long anterior to their actual existence in the vocabulary of the country.

Holdich, in his *History of Crowland Abbey*, alludes to the mention of the triangular bridge at Crowland in the charters of Edred and Edgar, the date of which was a century previous to the introduction of the Pointed arch into England.

It is not my intention to defend the verbal integrity of what are called the Saxon charters, but to attempt to prove the reasonableness of the belief that in substance they are genuine statements of real events,¹ and for this purpose I shall quote passages from two or three of them.

¹ See Preface to *The Chronicle of Ingulph*, ed. W. de G. Birch.

First in order is the foundation-charter of Ethelbald (date 716). After reciting the reason for the act, Ethelbald says : “I do by this public *deed* give, grant, and deliver unto Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Bartholomew, out of my demesnes, for the purpose of founding a monastery of Black Monks serving God in conformity with the rules of St. Benedict, the whole island of Croyland, the same to be set apart for the site of an abbey, and securely to be held ; being surrounded by *four rivers* ; that is to say, by the river called Shepishee on the east, by the river called Nene on the west, by the river called Southee on the south, and by the river called Asendyke on the north, where runs the common drain between Spalding and the said island ; together with the marsh, part of which is called Goggisland, on the north and west of the island.” Then come the length and breadth, in *leagues*, from the *bridge* to Aspath, Apenholt, Southlake, and Fynset. This is followed by certain rights and privileges, and the signatures of the King and eleven bishops, abbots, earls, and others.

Offa, in 793, after granting several privileges to the Monastery, confirms it in its original possessions. This has eight signatures of important personages. Kenulph in 806 executed a similar document, which has eight signatures, including kings, abbots, and bishops.

Wichtlaf in 833 proved himself a great benefactor of Crowland, and in his charter we get information relating to the boundary-crosses. Crowland was at this time a place of sanctuary, and it is only reasonable to suppose that its limits would be clearly defined. It states, “the boundaries were described and marked out by its five rivers, for the guidance of the King’s servants and the Abbot and monks in relation to fugitives. Now the said rivers are called by the following names,—Schepishee, which lies on the east, and on the western bank of which stands an ancient cross of *wood*, which is 10 ft. distant from the river, and is situate at equal distances between two corners of the said island, of which Aswyktoft is one, being the corner boundary of the said island on the north-east, and Tedwarther is the other, being the corner and boundary of the said island on the east. The second river bounds the said island on the south, and is called

Southee. On its bank there stands a stone cross, which is distant from Nomanlandhirne 5 perches, and 6 perches from Southee, where the river Southee enters the river Nene, which runs to the Bridge of Croyland. In this direction the limits for the fugitives run into the marshes on the west, and take a south-westerly direction through *Fynset*, and then as far as *Folwardstaking*, a south-westerly direction. Thence they take a turn to the north, to the spot where the river Southlake enters the Welland, just opposite a stone cross which stands on the northern bank of the said river Welland, being distant 5 ft. from the said river, which runs thence to the Bridge of Croyland aforesaid. The limits for the fugitives, however, take a direction from the said cross through the northern marshes straight to Oggot, which is the corner of the boundaries to the west. They then run in an easterly direction through Wodelade as far as Apynholt, where they take the course of the river Welland, which is the fourth river, and bounds the island on that side in the same manner as the third river. The Nene bounds it on the other side of the Bridge of Croyland as far as the Drain of Assendyke, which falls into the Welland where a broken cross of stone stands on the southern bank of the river Assendyke, from the waters of which it is five perches distant. The said river Assendyke is the fifth river, and separates the said island from the place of that name, running in a northerly direction as far as Aswyk-toft."

The charter of which this forms a part is attested by over a score of the highest ecclesiastics of the time. It may be worth noticing at once that Mr. Riley, the translator of Ingulphus, states in a footnote that the above description of the boundaries appears very confused, and attributes it to the change which the Bedford Level drainage operations caused in the face of the country, and says that but few of these boundaries could now be traced from an actual survey of the spot.

It is not to be wondered at that such fragile articles as charters should be destroyed or tampered with, and finally disputed, whilst nature's signature has been erased. But has it been? I answer, No. From the above description every inch of the boundaries may be traced to-day.

But I must proceed. Bertulph, in 851, in a charter sets out the lands, adding more detail. Ancarig Wood is noted on the southern lands, Ancarig being Thorney. Spalding, Weston, and Moulton, are also referred to in this charter, to which we have a score of attesting witnesses.

In the year 870 the Danes burnt the Abbey, murdered the Abbot, broke open the shrines, and tore up and burnt all the books and charters they could find. The fortunes of the house were at this time most adverse, and for a long time it seemed little likely to recover, until Edred took it under his care, with Turketell as Abbot. Edred's charter is of a most munificent nature, and the boundary of the glebe is described in terms of wider understanding and greater detail. There can be no doubt but that the story of Crowland's deep misfortunes was known throughout the length and breadth of the country, and sympathy rose until at a favourable moment a gracious King and an influential Abbot combined their efforts to restore its faded glories.

As soon as possible after his appointment Turketel took means of informing himself of the boundaries of Croyland, re-erecting such of the old crosses as had fallen, and placing others in suitable positions. He also called to his assistance several of the old monks whose knowledge of the Monastery extended far back, and by their assistance and the remaining documentary evidence the affairs of the establishment were put into a workable form. All this was confirmed by the charter of Edred, which so far as confirms the boundaries reads thus : " In the first place the whole island of Croyland, as the glebe of the church, and as the several site of the said Monastery, the same being distinguished by the following boundaries, namely, from the triangular Bridge of Croyland along the river Welland, in the direction of Spalding, as far as Assendyke, where the Assendyke falls into the Welland, on the northern side of the stone cross there erected by Turketel ; thence in an easterly direction, by the Assendyke, as far as Aswyktoft ; and thence by the Shepishie, on the eastern side of the said island, as far as Tedwarthar ; and thence, from the entrance of the Southie as far as Namanlandhirne, where the said

Turketel has ordered a stone cross to be erected, distant from Southee 6 perches. By which river a division is made of the two counties of Lincoln and Grantbridge; the said cross being distant from the river Nene, which lies to the west thereof, 5 perches; and thence along the said river Nene, as the same runs to the Bridge of Croyland; with several piscary, both in the waters surrounding the said island, as also in the marshes situate within the said site; together with the marshes and plantations of alders thereto adjoining, on the west, and opposite to the said island, to the county of Lincoln entirely annexed and belonging, and by the following boundaries set forth, that is to say, from Namanslandhirne, by the river Nene, towards the west, as far as the boundary there set, where a stone cross¹ is erected near the bank of the river; thence as far as Greynes, and thence to Folwards-taking; thence as far as Southlake, where the Southlake falls into the river Welland; and thence crossing that river, and beginning from Kenulphstone, near the bank, opposite to Southlake, where the first Abbot, after the foundation of the said Monastery, Kenulph by name, erected a stone cross as a boundary between Croyland and Deeping, in a northerly direction, near Aspath, as far as Werwarlake; thence to Harynholt, and thence onward past Mengerlake and Lurtlake, where are the boundaries between Hoyland and Kesteven; thence as far as Oggot, and thence to Apynholt, otherwise known by the name of Wodelade, where the Wodelade falls into the river Welland."

The scope of my essay prevents me noting more than one other fact in connection with the work of Turketel, viz., the building of a seminary on the site of St. Pega's Cell, the existence of which remained in doubt until the foundations were planned and described by me about fifteen years since, a copy of which was published by Canon Moore, and also in Mr. W. de G. Birch's "Memorials of St. Guthlac."

I have purposely omitted noting the granting of important possessions and privileges to the Abbey by kings and noble benefactors. The traditions of many neigh-

¹ This is Fynset.

bouring abbeys and manors refute the suspicions of doubters, and confirm the substantial truth of the history.

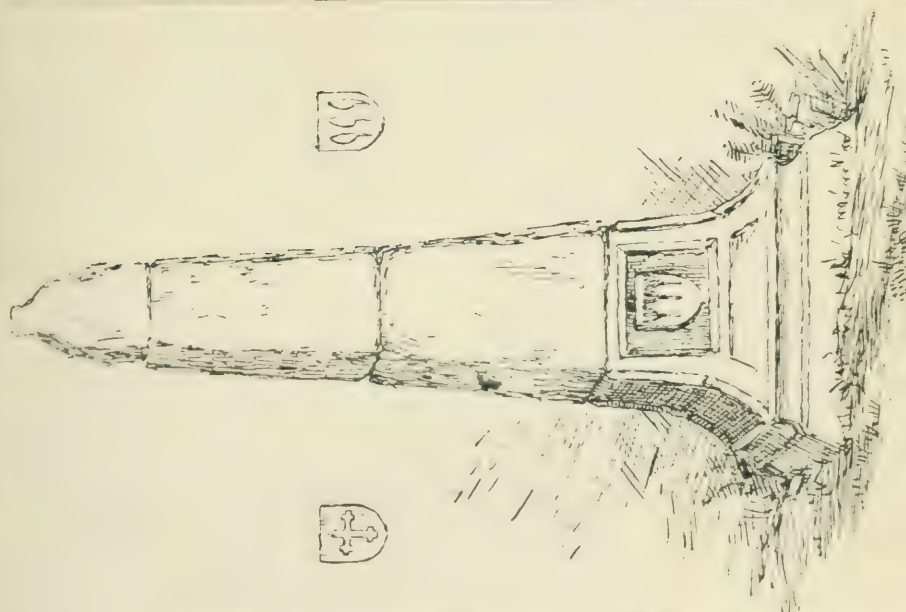
It is now time to identify the old descriptions, and connect them, as far as facts will warrant, with existing landmarks, beginning with what is known as Guthlac's Cross, which stands in a garden near to Brother-House Toll-Bar, on the road to Spalding, four miles from Crowland. The term "Brother-House" is a significant reminder of its monastic relationship. More argument has been used over this Cross than all the remainder ; in fact, only two of the others were generally known until quite lately. It is scarcely possible that this Cross could have been erected by Guthlac or even by Ethelbald, who describes the boundaries by rivers. Probably crosses of wood would first be put up, stone following as circumstances provided them ; and it would be futile to attempt to identify any particular stone before the time of Turketyl.

Guthlac's Cross is a single stone set well into the ground, moulded fully on one edge, and partially on the other. It is about 3 ft. out of the ground, appears broken on the top, and bears an inscription which probably was recut during the existence of the Gentlemen's Society that was established at Spalding early in the last century ; at all events during its history the stone has been renovated, one of the letters in the top row being cut partly on the broken surface. This stone is set near to where that very interesting boundary, the Assendyke, which consists of two roads, one embankment, and four drains, runs into or out of the Welland. This northern boundary, commonly known as Queen's Bank, or Moulton Austendyke, is continued to Aswyktoft, and from thence by the Shepishee, or Shepherd's Water, to the modern Shepeystow ; from which place the Whaplode Drove Bank leads to Dowsdale, near to which was the ancient Tedwarther ; and on from thence by the Southee to Namandlandhirne, a place which has retained its ancient name.

Here, near the junction of the counties of Lincoln and Cambridge, stands Turketyl's Cross, which is a well-designed and executed monument. It has a bold and



LINCOLN



GUTHLAG'S CROSS.

heavy base which bears four shields, two of which contain the arms of the Abbey, and another St. Bartholomew's Cross. The other is illegible. The base is surmounted by a tapering octagonal pillar formed of three stones. This Cross was lost for many years, it having been thrown down into the Catwater Drain, which is the branch of the Nene which joins the Southee, and runs on to the Welland, under Crowland Bridge. This Cross was re-erected about fifty years since, and remains the finest of the whole series of crosses.

The boundary from this place followed the course of the Nene or Catwater, about a quarter of a mile, to Singlesole, where stands another Cross. This is Fynset, or, according to some, Fineston. This Cross stands in a hedge, where it would not be noticed by any one unacquainted with its position. It is on Mr. J. Henson's farm, and about a hundred yards from the Thorney road. It has a square base splayed at the corners into an octagon, from which rises a flattish, octagonal column about 5 ft. high, which is surmounted by a capital morticed on to the shaft. The top of the capital is hollow, and bears an iron pin dowelled into it, most likely for the purpose of securing a cross on its summit.

The direction of the boundary from this place runs westward, and after leaving the gravel-bed at Singlesole has to cross Borofen, a low, boggy district; yet even here we find boundary-stones. The "Greynes" of the charter would probably be the high, uncut monolith standing on Riddington's "Old Farm", a short distance from the Tollhouse in Newboro'. This stone is about 4 ft. above ground, and is stated to be as deeply buried beneath.

Continuing the course westward across four fields, there stands the base of Folwardstaking, or the Fowler's Stake. This stone is of the same size, and the working of it similar to the base of the Cross at Singlesole, the only divergence being the cutting of the splays on its upper corners.

At a spot in a north-westerly direction from this stone, in the direct line of the gravel-bed from Crowland to Peakirk, I have found the remains of another cross. It was ploughed up in 1885, and was very likely to have

been lost to history ; but I have pleasure in stating that through the kindness of Mr. Clarke I have a section of it to convince the sceptical of its antiquity.

From near this place a drain, called Southlake, ran on to the Welland, where was set Kenulph stone. This base stands near to the old bed of the Welland, into which undoubtedly the Cross was thrown, as there are several accounts of strife between Crowland and Deeping over this boundary. On the top of this stone there is at present set a modern county division boundary stone. From this place a portion of Deeping Fen and Crowland Common, under the name of "Goggisland", to the west, was included in the following bounds, but through the marshy nature of the soil was unmarked by stones. Lakes and holts took their place here.

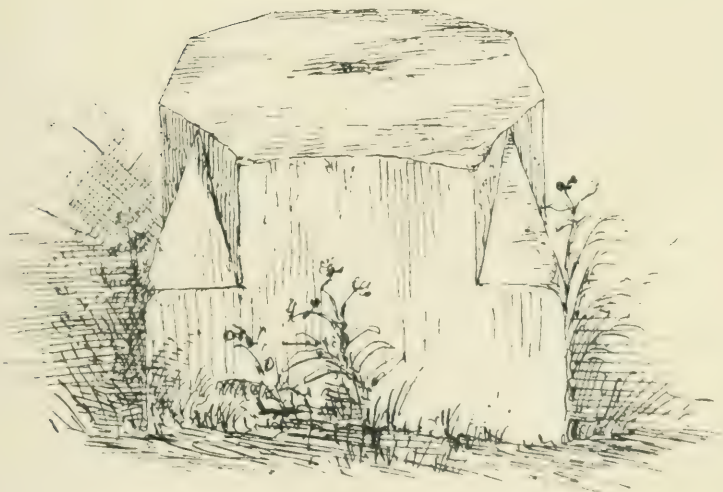
Starting at Asspath, near to Mr. R. Ward's farm, following the Raisindyke, as shown on the New Ordnance Survey Maps, Werwerlake, Harynholt, Mengerlake, and Lurlake, embraced the whole district to near across the bottom of the Common up to the old crooked drain, or Wodelode, that runs by Mr. W. Law's house, through the Gores, by Oggot, on by Apynholt, until it falls into the Welland, which continues its course easterly until it joins Assendyke at Brother-House.

Gough, in the first Appendix to his *History of Crowland*, states : "There is an agreement, in old English, copied from the Register called 'Swapham', at Peterborough, in Gunton's history of that church (p. 290), which is as follows :—

"*De Bunda de Fynset*.—Be it known to all that be alyve, and to all that shall come hereafter, that the bound of Fynset, which is made mention of in the syne betwixt Akary, Abbot of Peterburgh, and his Convent, and Henry Abbot of Croyland and his Convent, it is set in an angyl besyde a plot that is called nowadays Nomansland, betwix the waters of Welland and of Nene ; wich water of Nene hath its course directly from Croyland unto Dovesdale, on the south syde of a cross set there ; and the water of Welland hath his course directly from Croyland Brig unto Nomansland, Hyrun, by a water called Twandondyke ; and there the water of Welland fallyth into Nene ; and the said Hyrun is set at a barre, and an old



FOLWARDSTAKING.



GREYNES.

welow near the dyke which men go to a place called Tutlakesland.’”

This curious piece of old evidence, from an independent authority, carries us back to the early part of the fourteenth century, and by its tone it is to be inferred that those landmarks mentioned were as well known then as they may be at the present day. “Dovesdale” means Dowsdale; “Tutlakesland”, Guthlacsland; and “Twandondyke”, Swandyke, the latter being the conjunction of the Nene with the Welland.

Fynset, the boundary above mentioned, embraces an increase of Crowland’s domain beyond Turketyl’s Cross at Nomansland, and was considered an encroachment by the Abbots of Peterborough and Thorney, and so would become a subject of litigation. Numerous similar extracts might be made from old documents.

In 1338, the Abbot being then lord of the manor, a “barre” was erected on the bank at Clote (now Clood), “and 17 ferrymen had a presentement made against them for disobeying the laws of the manor, the bank being at the charge of the manor.” (Gough.) This bank and the toll (removed to Brother-House) still remain, and the repair of the bank is at the charge of the owner of the Postland estate, which represents a great part of the ancient patrimony of the Monastery. Dugdale, in the history of embankment, makes a “Memorandum, that from the time of the foundation of this Abbey untill the days of Sir John Wake, who lived t. E. II and III, nothing was done against the Abbot of Croyland for raising a bank in Goggisland Marsh in Holland; but in the time of Thomas Wake, son of Sir John, the said bank was made, and the Abbot of Croyland made it from Kenulphstone to Croyland town, *alias* Dykeend, from which place the lordship of Depyng began, and continued to Wodelade till the time of the Duke of Somerset; then the said Duke by his own power removed the said Abbot from that bank, and compelled him more by riot than reason to make a bank from *Dykeend* (this place was opposite the town of Crowland”) on to Wodelode, *Wight-house*; which bank his Lordship ought to have made.

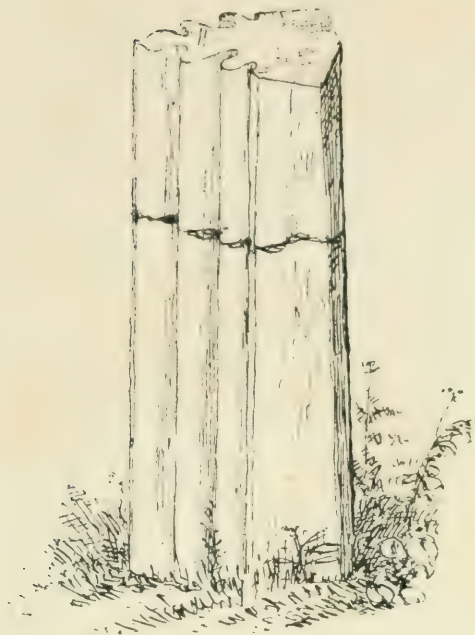
To multiply cases of this kind would probably divert attention from the main point, which is to show that in

days far removed from our own the boundaries of Crowland, as set forth in her charters, were well known and publicly recognised in official documents. Six stone crosses are mentioned, viz., Guthlac's Stone, Turketyl's Cross, Fynset, Greynes, Folwardstaking, and Kenulph's Cross. All these are now existing; and during the past year the remains of an unnamed cross were ploughed up about midway, in a direct line, between Folwardstaking and Kenulph's Cross, by the side of Southlake.

As an appendix to these notes I should be glad to register a few facts relating to the history of the Abbey, and occurrences falling within my own observation, which appear to confirm the ancient records.

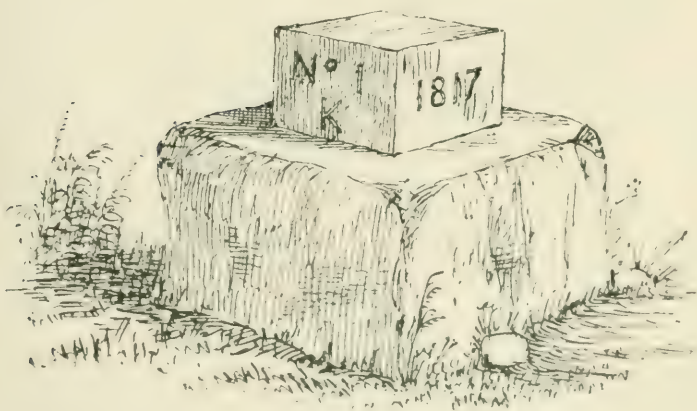
Felix, the monk, in his *Life of Guthlac*, states that when Guthlac resolved to take up his abode at Crowland, he built his hut, which afterwards developed into an oratory, over a hole which had been made in a tumulus by treasure-seekers. Tumulus and treasure-seekers have been set down by some critics as evidences of the fictitiousness of the work, for they argue that it was impossible for tumuli to have existed in a swamp. But facts are stronger than theory. I have witnessed the exhumation of two of these tumuli, whose abundant relics carry their history back to and beyond the Roman occupation of Britain. Croyland had been inhabited by a race long anterior to the time of Guthlac, whose traditional history might have descended to his time, and have given the spot the chief interest that drew him to it. There were a series of tumuli, and Guthlac, his sister Pega, Tatwin, Bettelm Cissa, and Egbert, might each have occupied one of them.

Ingulph states that because the land was "crude and muddy, it was not able to support a foundation of stone, wherefore the King ordered huge piles of oak and beech to be driven into the ground, and solid earth to be brought from the uplands and thrown over them." This statement has been controverted by Holdich, Canon Moore, and others. Theory again is wrong. The theorists say the substratum of the site of the Abbey is gravel, and there was no need for piles; but excavations recently made beneath the oldest part of the foundations show both the oak-piles and the heavy earth in the exact order described by the historian.



STONE OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY REPLACING AN EARLIER ONE.

Between Folwardstaking and Kenulph's Stone.



KENULPH'S STONE.

Again, Ingulph states that Turketyl required many of his followers to take up their abode in Pega's Cell on the eastern side of the Monastery; and here he afterwards built a chapel for them, a kind of secular seminary. The fact of St. Pega having had a cell at Crowland has been disputed; but there can be no disputing the fact that the foundations of an extensive building on the spot indicated have been taken up, a plan of which I made at the time of their exhumation, which has been several times published; and further, the site of the building was an extensive tumulus from which several relics of antiquarian interest were obtained.

The Harleian Roll contains a series of drawings which are said to be designs for painted glass windows. Critics tell us Crowland never had any painted windows; yet only last week a fragment of glass was found having details of ornament and treatment very similar to the aforesaid drawings.

About thirty years since, when the new graveyard was made, in an excavation near to what would have been the western front of the cloisters, I saw eight stone coffins side by side. Several of them were broken, and bore marks of having been disinterred at a previous time.

As to the correctness of the records of the many conflagrations that have occurred, we have the fact that an abundance of the stone worked in even the Norman foundation bears strong traces of fire, and that of an intense kind.

In the face of such evidence as I have adduced from substantial fact, I think the film of adverse criticism must fall from the reasonably interpreted meaning of the history of Crowland.

NOTES ON THE SEPULCHRAL RITES OF THE OLD WORLD.

BY THE LATE JOHN BRENT, ESQ., F.S.A.

(*Read 3rd April 1889.*)

THE burying, or putting away, or otherwise disposing of, the remains of the dead is the subject of this paper. The most prevalent modes of treating the dead were by inhumation or cremation. Inhumation is the most ancient method respecting which we have reliable evidence, and under this head we must include the interments of the Egyptians; for although they embalmed the body with unguents and spices, and wrapped it in cerecloths, they put it away in sarcophagi or coffins, and stored it in temples, in mounds of stone, and in other receptacles.

The earliest historical account we have is in Genesis, xxxv, 20,—“Rachel died, and Jacob set a pillar upon her grave. This is the pillar of Rachel’s grave to this day.” Jacob says also, “My father made me swear, saying, Lo, I die. In my grave which I have digged for me in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me.” (Chap. 1, 5.) This practice seemed almost universal with the Jews of the Old Testament. We are told, however (Joshua, vii, 25, 26), that Achan and his family, after they were stoned with stones, were burnt with fire, and they raised over them a great heap of stones. But Achan had transgressed; he was considered as one accursed, and he and his family, and his live stock, were consumed by fire. This was an exceptional method, no doubt.

Inhumation was probably the oldest rite amongst the Teutons and the Celts. There were many exceptions. We have no evidence, I believe, what were the funeral rites of palæolithic or even neolithic man; but I am not aware, although the workshops of the former have been supposed to have been discovered, in spite of the human jawbone of Quignon, that we have ever discovered their remains burnt or buried.

Inhumation was the oldest rite with the Etruscans and the Romans, although the latter people, before the time

of Scylla, practised both cremation and inhumation, as we may learn from the prohibition in the "Ten Tables", "No body shall be burnt or buried within the city walls"; an injunction, however, sometimes violated in both cases.

Amongst the Roman colonies and conquered provinces, in England, especially, the burial by cremation was the general practice. However, there were exceptions to this; and in Canterbury, where we have recorded five Roman cemeteries, burial by inhumation was almost wholly practised in one of them, whilst urn-burial was the almost universal mode in the others. Yet even here, apart and in solitary interments, skeletons have been found in leaden coffins and in tiled graves.

In the barrows and tumuli of Wiltshire and Derbyshire, Celts and Britons buried or burnt their dead. The Gauls burnt their dead, and the natives of Britain followed the same practice. In Denmark, "the age of burning", says Worsaae, "corresponds with the bronze age; the age of interment with that of iron." Here we have cremation preceding inhumation. Thus the graves of the Scandinavian chiefs have yielded, with skeletons, iron swords, spears, stirrups, bridles, chain-bits, and sometimes an iron axe-head. But does not Worsaae draw too hard a line between the bronze and iron ages? A little research will show us that the two ages existed contemporaneously in different countries, often overlapping each other, and were sometimes merely a national distinction, the more civilised people having learned the art of smelting the iron: indeed, sometimes both ages may be represented in the same grave; although, undoubtedly, as a rule, bronze weapons preceded those of iron; and with some peoples, as the Trojans and Armenian primæval people, copper, accompanied with bone, preceded bronze.

The belief in immortality, or the resurrection of the body, is supposed by some writers to have influenced the mode of interment; but where, except amongst the most debased savages (and these but few), or with a few transcendental philosophers, do we find, as a principle, this hope and belief denied? With the Egyptians and Etruscans the idea exercised a mighty influence, and led to the use of numerous expedients for the preservation of

the dead ; and the costly interments of Etruria were based on the belief that the departed required from the hands of friends and relatives the luxuries and necessities which they enjoyed in this earthly life. With the Scythian hero his horse, his dog, and his slave reposed in one common grave. In some cases, however, even the Etruscans practised cremation ; and when the body of the master reposed in the interior of the tomb, the ashes of his slaves and dependents were ranged in urns around the portico. We must bear in mind, however, that as cremation, with its accessories, was the most expensive of sepulchral rites, so frequently, when some chief or man renowned was to be interred, the mortuary urn was sometimes of gold.

Let us refer to that grand old poem, the *Iliad*, and read what its author has said of the obsequies of Patroclus ; for bear in mind, even if Patroclus was a myth, Homer wrote of the customs of his day. In the first place an immense mound was raised, the corpse was placed on the summit, on a pyre, sheep and oxen were slain, and the godlike Achilles poured some of the fat of the victims, as an unguent, on the body of his friend. Jars of oil and honey were placed around the corpse ; four horses, nine splendid dogs (the favourites of the deceased), and twelve Trojan captives, were immolated, and died beneath the knife of the officiating priest. The pyre was then fired, and in one common blaze the victims and the hero were consumed ; care, however, being taken to preserve the ashes of Patroclus apart. Wine was poured over them ; they were gathered up, and placed in a vase of gold ; a veil of linen covered the urn ; it was borne back to the hero's tent, a tumulus was raised over it, and the ceremony was concluded by funeral games, and, doubtless, the usual funeral feast.

Before the pyre was lit, however, Achilles had placed a lock of his own yellow hair on the body of Patroclus, an example followed by many of the spectators around him. Perhaps this last custom may have gone down to more recent times, and the hair at times discovered in our English tumuli may not always have belonged to the inhabitant of the grave.

Undoubtedly the conversion of Celts, Cambrians, Teu-

tons, Anglo-Saxons, Romano-British, and other nations, to Christianity, had the effect of restraining the practice of cremation, and eventually abolished it altogether. The same thing might be applied, in a partial degree, to the deposit in the grave of ornaments, jewels, beads, and glass vessels; yet, as regards the latter objects, not wholly so. The late Professor Rolleston advanced an opinion that whenever antiquarian relics were found in an Anglo-Saxon grave, it was the interment of a pagan. There were exceptions, however, to this, as I can prove, especially in reference to the Jutish graves in Kent.

A few examples of Christian relics have occurred in my own county, in Roman graves where the rites were by cremation. I became possessed of a Samian vessel from a Roman grave at Barham, from which was taken a small Samian patera on which was inscribed the Christian monogram, $\chi\rho$; and an instance also may be recorded of a very much larger vessel, in the collection of Mr. Jopling of Colchester, similarly marked. These interments were all previous to the advent of the Christian missionary, Augustine.

However, it might, perhaps, be urged as regards the two practices of inhumation and cremation, with almost equal force, that a people who believed not in immortality might yet bestow all that could be spared for lost friends and relatives as a last and graceful tribute of affection, or as a desire to adorn with pomp and splendour the final resting-place of their beloved ones.

Dr. Schoolcraft, in his work, *The Indian Tribes*, carries us back to an uncertain period as regards the remoteness of the origin of the funeral rites of the Indians, although the ancient inhabitants of Yucutan and the builders of the structures of Palenque are, doubtless, of a great antiquity. We have traditions of the immigration of the Northmen and those who came from Scandinavia and Greenland in the tenth, perhaps the ninth centuries; but they found the country already possessed by the Canadian Indians, and by these Indians they were probably destroyed. Other immigrants, no doubt, had landed from Asia on the north-west of America, from Japan, its islands, and from China, at an earlier period, and may have formed some of the Toltec and even Aztec people. A Malay ele-

ment has also been hinted at as existing in some of the tribes who passed from California to the south.

The sepulchral mounds of the Indians are widely spread. Amongst the Alquenquens, Troguos, and Cherokee tribes some of these mounds are fashioned into the shapes of animals, birds, lizards, reptiles, etc. Dr. Schoolcraft considers they exhibit a kind of heraldic origin, and proclaim the ancestry of chiefs who were designated as "The Great Bear," "The Eagle," "The Fox," etc. These mounds are most numerous in the southern counties of Wisconsin, but extend from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan. Dr. Schoolcraft likewise considers them to be sepulchral; but Sir John Lubbock states this is not the case, and that when opened they exhibited neither bones, implements, nor ornaments. Although generally only a few feet high, some of them are of enormous length. On an eminence near Granville, Ohio, is an earthwork denominated "The Alligator." "It has a head, four sprawling legs, and a curled tail, and is 250 ft. long." There is also the great serpent-mound in Adams County, Ohio. In graceful undulation, with its head resting near the steep or cliff of a hill, it winds back for nearly 1,000 ft. The present Indians know nothing of these works, but look upon them with reverence. Doubtless they were allied with some ancient superstition or religious practice, and belonged to a people long since passed away.

The North American Indian practised inhumation. Many of the tribes offer food to their dead,—pieces of flesh, game, etc. Black is their usual sign of mourning, the emblems of night and death. In some of the Indian obsequies (s. p. 68) the mourners are smeared over with a black mixture that will readily rub off. The corpse is dressed in its best clothes; new moccasins and leggings are put on; it is crowned with a headdress, and adorned with a frontlet of feathers; the bow, club, arrows, and pipe, are placed by the side of the deceased, with a small quantity of vermillion, doubtless for the deceased to make himself smart in the other world. The body lies sometimes exposed in a public place; addresses are delivered to it as well as to the mourners. Should the funeral be that of a woman, a paddle, a kettle, and other female implements, are provided. The coffin is set in a

trench, and generally placed east and west ; a mound is raised. The mounds of the Mississippi Indians are from 10 to 80 ft. high.

In some of the Indian mounds are found stone arrow-heads, copper chisels, copper slips, and carved pipes. One skeleton of the Creek Mound Indians was, according to Sir John Lubbock, accompanied by 1,700 bone-beads, 500 sea-shells, 150 pieces of mica, besides other objects. In some interments, from the evidences in the graves, there had been a graceful offering of leaves and flowers and fruits to the deceased. Many of the skeletons at Wisconsin, placed in the buttresses or walls of enclosed places, and fortification of hard, red clay, were found in a sitting posture with fragments of pottery around them.

The sepulchral mounds in the central parts of America are innumerable.

In the Ossuaries at Beverley, twelve miles from Dundas, Canada, were found, with the usual sepulchral deposit of clay pipes, gorgets, sea-shells, bone amulets, bears' teeth, a few remarkable beads of glass fashioned in red, white, and purple layers, chamfered down at each end, exactly resembling, except in size, those beads called the "chevron bead", found singly, and but rarely, in this country, and described by Camden as the "*glein miede*", or serpent's egg, and supposed by him to be British.

The origin of these beads has given rise to considerable controversy, more especially as there are one or two at New York said to have come from Egypt, and one in the Louvre, described as being from a tomb at Succara, in Egypt also. There is one in the British Museum, described as having been taken from Dahkeh, also in Egypt. I believe a few similar beads have been found in Indian graves at Hamburg, Erie County, N.Y.

There was once a line of traffic along the Don and Wolga, from the East to Scandinavia. Could these beads have come by that route, been carried by the Northmen to Canada, and formed part of the Indian spoil when the Northern settlers were overwhelmed on the banks of the Taunton river, where they had, according to Mallet, settled a colony ? These beads exhibit a skill in glass-making far beyond the art or abilities of the North American savage.

Amongst the Greeks, the funeral rites of the Spartans were characterised by their simplicity. No jewels nor ornaments were deposited with their dead; tears and all outward display of sorrow were forbidden; and no inscriptions, except to those who died in battle, were engraved upon their tombs. The same distinction was allowed to women who lived a religious life. The dead, however, were not forbidden to be interred close to the temples, and within the cities. The Athenians and other Greeks practised *cremation* generally, and some beautiful funeral tablets from their tombs have been preserved, recording death-scenes and other affecting episodes. Mirrors, lamps, and vases, and elegant glass vessels, some brought from Cyprus, were placed within their tombs, beside the sepulchral urn.

Dr. Schliemann's explorations at Mycenæ attest the wealth and elaborate care bestowed on some very ancient interments.

The Parsees and fire-worshippers deemed it a sacrilege to submit to fire the bodies of their dead. They embalmed them. So also did the Guebres of India. It is said, however, they would rather expose their dead to birds and beasts of prey than burn them. Camden tells us never any people neglected their dead as did the Bactrians, who cast the body to the dogs. A lower state of barbarism can scarcely be conceived.

The Chinese cemeteries are often erected with much care and elegance. The tombs were surrounded with trees and flowers, pines and cypresses. The practice was by inhumation. The coffins of the poorer classes rested beneath a thatched or small brick edifice; but the tombs of the nobles and mandarins consisted of vaulted pyramids. Trees were planted around; an altar of pure white marble was placed before the sepulchre, on which were displayed candlesticks, vases, and censers of elegant and costly workmanship.

The Tartars erected magnificent sepulchres. It is even said that on one occasion, when a tomb was entered suddenly, the form of an armed man was seen lying on a silver table, with lance, bow, and shield.

The ancient practice of the Jaculthians was to burn their dead, or hang them up in trees; and while the poor

deceased of the Kanscathins were wrapped in matting, and buried in the sea, his wealthier countryman was placed, with his clothes and weapons, in a small boat; the boat was then hung up on a sort of scaffolding made of poles, and thus abandoned to time and to the weather. These old Northmen loved their boats and ships even in death, as the ship-barrows and ship-like mounds of Scandinavia so frequently attest.

The tumuli of Kertch were constructed of layers of earth heaped higher each succeeding year over a thin coating of reeds, seaweed, and charcoal. Each layer of earth was 1 to 3 ft. thick, and these mounds varied from 5 to 150 ft. high.

Dr. Schliemann mentions tumuli still existing on the Plain of Troy, one lying to the south of Ilium, 33 ft. high and 130 ft. in circumference. Here he supposes he has found the tumulus of *Æsyetes*. It is not far from the confluence of the Simois and Scamander.

Another mound in front of Troy, modernly called "Pacha Tepe", he considers to be the monument of *Batica*, or the *Amazon Myrica*. There is also a lofty, conical mound ascribed to the memory of *Achilles* or *Ajax*. It stands on a hill at the foot of the promontory of *Rhœtum*. In 1788 it was opened, and an arched passage found, 3½ ft. high, built of bricks; also the ruins of a small temple. *Strabo* says the latter contained a statue of *Ajax*, which *Antony* took away and presented to *Cleopatra*.

We can give only a brief sketch of the modes of sepulchre practised by the savages, heathens, and inhabitants of Asia, Africa, and the islands. The Indo-Aryans burnt their dead. The natives of Australia occasionally used trees for their mortuary rights. Widows, amongst this people, were said to carry their husbands' skulls swung around their necks. The hollow tree-burial was once practised in New Zealand either by the *Maories* or some more ancient people. The *Chukches* of Siberia laid out their dead in the open air, where birds and beasts could devour them. The *Burmese* burnt their dead in all cases, excepting infants under twelve years of age, and persons dying a violent death.

Denham, upon the authority of *Sir John Lubbock*, states that in *Bornou*, Africa, every one is buried under

the floor of his own house, without monument or memorial. The poor people continue to reside in their dwellings, but the rich abandon them after such obsequies. The same practice holds with many other races of the Gold Coast; and the Indians of the Amazon also buried their dead under their houses. Some tribes placed the corpses of their departed friends in trees. The custom once common in Africa, of slaying the slaves of a chief, and burying them in one common grave, also prevailed in New Zealand. The left eye of a chief became a star. The Pleiades are seven New Zealand brothers famed in war, one eye of each being the only part of them that is visible. Thus at last the glittering host of heaven became an assembly of departed heroes, fellow-brothers with Perseus, Orion, and Asturus.¹ The Kamtscatkans send their dead to a subterranean abode where they will find again arms, and their clothes, tools, and huts. The Greenlanders locate their departed friends beneath the Orew, where reigns eternal summer.²

Mound-burial was practised by Greeks, Scythians, and many of the German races. Scandinavia was replete with tumuli. Harold Heldeland, who fell at the battle of Bradvaleu, was buried in a war-chariot beneath a tumulus. His horse was slain and saddled, and buried with him, so that Harold might either ride to Valhalla or go thither on his couch. Sigurd Ring, who had conquered Harold in battle, bade his chiefs cast their arms and ornaments into his grave.

We have described the tumulus erected to Patroclus. Alexander the Great, some centuries later repeated, after a degree, similar series of rites over his friend Hephaistur, upon whose grave he erected a tumulus at an enormous cost. Dolmens and cromlechs, Sir John Lubbock informs us, are all scattered over certain districts in vast numbers. More than two thousand still remain in the Orkneys. In Denmark they are most abundant, and in Europe they stretch from the shores of the Atlantic to the Oral Mountains, whilst in Asia they extend over the steppes of Russia to the Pacific, and from Siberia to Hindostan. The entire Plain of Jelalabad is covered with tumuli and mounds. They are not deficient in Africa, as

¹ Alger, 69.

² *Ibid.*, 71.

researches in Algeria attest, and the Pyramids stand as the most magnificent tombs in the world. The hill-forts of Scotland have now been discovered to have similar examples to those in France and Germany.

Whether we consider them sepulchral or sacrificial (perhaps both), the finest examples of cromlechs or stone circles in England exist at Stonehenge and at Abury, Stanton Drew, Acton Low, and Stennis. There are stone circles in Australia, in Peru, and even amongst the Esquimaux. The giant Dana, in Ireland, was, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, worthy of admiration, the stones being brought, according to tradition, by giants from Africa. In Algeria there are stone circles with paved floors.

The Hinnelagoes, according to Alger, located Paradise above, and described the Milky Way as the road of the dead,—white with the ghosts of the departed. The Ojebways placed their Elysium in the far and ever receding West. Most of these people practised inhumation. Longfellow tells us in *Hiawatha*,—

“Do not lay such heavy burthens
In the graves of those you bury;
Not such weight of furs and wampans,
Not such weight of pots and kettles,
For the spirits faint beneath them.”

The funeral rites of the Druids were, as far as we know, rites of inhumation. Their history of the passage of the soul is too elaborate to be repeated here. The Scandinavian warrior sent to his last sleep beneath his earth-mound or barrow, to awake in futurity of continued war, active and revelling. Valhalla was supported by spears and lances, roofed with shields, and ornamented with coats of mail. “The choosers of the slain”, the Valkyrian, or maids of slaughter, who had hovered over the field of battle, brought to Valhalla the departed heroes. We are told little or nothing of those who died in peaceful occupations; but the hunter, himself a shade, pursued with phantom hounds the shadowy deer. In the Palace of Freya the souls of noble women found repose; and Thor led Noska, a swift-footed peasant girl, to the goddess’ abode.

But it is amongst the Egyptians and Etruscans we find

the most splendid tombs, and mark the most magnificent obsequies of the dead. The grandeur of their tombs and the elaborate ritual of their funeral obsequies nowhere interfered with the belief of an immortal life; on the contrary, it seemed rather to intensify that belief. The *Book of the Dead* found at times in the bosom of the embalmed mummy describes the history of the wanderings and trials of the soul until it finds repose and happiness. This *Book* was a passport in the eventful journey, and contained advice and admonition, together with prayers to be addressed to the various deities that were to be encountered on the way. Even the ornamented cases which enclosed the embalmed bodies were painted over with the scenes setting forth the events which would occur to the deceased when he entered upon the life beyond the grave. The halls of the Egyptian temples were painted and sculptured with representations of the fate of the departed.

Etruria, old, enigmatical, mysterious Etruria, that land whose very language remains undeciphered, and whose temples are filled with wild and fanciful delineations of beings mythical as well as real, offers the most interesting examples of elaborate tombs and elegant and stately paraphernalia. Herein the dead repose on couches and sofas in sepulchres like palatial apartments, with lutes and lyres suspended from the walls of earthenware and silver, and lamps and vases of elegant and classical designs, and goblets, mirrors, and numerous other articles. The walls of these tombs are elegantly painted and ornamented. The tombs themselves were often hewn from cliffs and hills. They lay outside their city walls, yet frequently spread for miles around, deeply, secretly, and presumably have lain buried for ages; for ages unknown and undiscovered, the plough passed for centuries over them; but at last, as the soil thinned, or was washed away, a bullock's foot perhaps passed through the superincumbent crust, and revealed the wondrous things below. These speechless and silent people have passed away; their history, their very language unknown; their inscriptions undecipherable, though often spelled out and guessed at; their dead and their tombs are the only things that have tongues, and speak to the present age.

We glean from their pictured sepulchres a few hints as to the doctrine of genii presiding over the affairs of men. The Goddess of Fate is there with wings. They had a class of gods called the "Shrinded Gods", mysterious rulers over all things, like a grim, inexorable necessity; Martus and Mania, king and queen of the other world; the last to be propitiated only by human blood and sacrifices. On the walls of the tombs themselves were depicted the terrible Death-King, also a being, like Charon. The scenes of human life are portrayed around,—innumerable deathbed-figures seemingly uttering screams and exclamations; souls depicted down upon their knees, whilst the good and evil spirits contend for them; and as the good genius departs, the despairing sinner is outshadowed as grasping at his wing to detain him. Forcibly and fearfully is drawn the ultimate fate of the dead departed; those in bliss seated round a table in banquet, and the condemned beaten with hammers, stabbed, and torn by demons. The supreme god was Finia.

It is generally considered an historical fact that in early times Romans burnt the bodies of the deceased, yet Numa, of Sabine origin, gave particular orders that his body should not be burnt, but laid in a stone coffin, after the manner of the Etruscans, all of whose customs were said to have been adopted by the Sabines. Doubtless, in the very early ages of the Republic the Romans continued this custom; but this was not the practice of old Etruria.

There was, doubtless, a Pelasque origin with this wonderful people,—a people who occupied the central portion of Italy, and flourished, with their arts of pottery and painting, a thousand years previously to the building of Rome itself; their temple-like tombs mostly, if not wholly, subterranean, cut out of solid rock or tufa; the primary saloon adorned with wall-paintings, and furnished with exquisitely wrought objects of art-design. There were rooms connected with the chief apartment, some rather fancifully described as places for the mourners to retire to weep in, others thought to be recesses for the performance of certain rites and ceremonies attendant on the funerals. These tombs were generally arched with domes, some containing tent-shaped or pear-shaped roofs,

in some cases supported by a single pillar. They were adorned with inscriptions in an unknown language. Attempts have been made to assimilate the sentences to certain Greek words as explanatory of the names or occupations of the deceased. The same suggestion applies to the designation of the gods and genii, such as Menape, Nupia, and Tina; supposed to be synonymous with Minerva, Juno, and Jupiter.

Italy, most eligibly situated for colonisation, a beautiful and fertile country, offered many temptations for immigrants; it was, in fact, densely populated before Roman times, forty different coinages being said to be extant before Rome was founded. However, the dominating spirit of the Roman in course of time carried everything before it. The cities of Veii, Tarquinia, Cumæ, Vulci, etc., fell, and became subject to the power of the conqueror, and in many cases the customs and ceremonies of these people were changed, and passed under Roman influences.

In one tomb, called the "Regulini Galassi" (tomb of Cervetri), most costly articles were found, amongst which might be noted an immense breastplate of gold fastened with a delicately wrought fibula also of gold. The breastplate was stamped with arabesques and patterns after the Egyptian style. "The head of the corpse", Mr. Grey informs us, "had been crowned with fillets and circular ornaments of gold, and a rich mantle covered the body", flowered with the same material. In the tomb were found arms, spears, lances, etc.; a bier of bronze as perfect as if newly made, a tripod, the wheels of a car upon which the body had been brought to the sepulchre, painted vases and tazza, and a number of small images, perhaps household gods. Of the beautiful vases of Etruscan glass space will not permit a description.

Our own British Museum, and above all, the galleries of the Vatican and other collections at Rome and in Italy, give numerous examples. Mr. Grey states that the art of making these vessels was probably brought from Egypt to Italy long before the Trojan war; and the revelations made by Dr. Schliemann, of riches found at Ilium and Hissarlik reveal to us that earlier ancient peoples had attained a high perfection in the workman-

ship of vessels not only fictile, but wrought of the precious metals.

In one of the Etruscan tombs Mr. Grey describes a delineation of a procession of the dead, conducted by genii to their final abode of good and evil. The good genius led the way, as designated by the serpents of eternity, which are turned around the head. He bears a lighted torch. He is followed by a number of souls; amongst these are a man and woman distinguished by uncommon beauty. But the evil spirit is also there; a monstrous fiend, black, of negro-like expression, placing his claw or hand on some unfortunate, whilst the hammer, the Etruscan badge of death, is raised aloft in his other hand. Behind, again, follows a female of surpassing beauty. This procession is very Egyptian-like in character and expression.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 19TH MARCH 1890.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

J. RUSSELL FORBES, Esq., Rome, was elected an Honorary Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Author, for "Pages in Facsimile from a Layman's Prayer-Book in English." 1890. By Henry Littlehales.

To the Society, for "Archæological Journal," vol. xlv, No. 184, 1889.

" " for "Les Chartes de Saint-Bertin," tome ii, Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, 1889; and "Bulletin Historique" of the same, livr. 151, 1889.

" " for "Archæologia Cantiana," vol. xviii, 1889. The Kent Archæological Society.

Mr. J. Macmichael exhibited a large series of ancient articles found in recent excavations in London. They date from Roman times, through mediæval centuries, to the end of the seventeenth century. Among the most curious the following may be specially referred to : a well smoothed and rounded sling-stone ; several small glass phials which are not unfrequently called Roman, but which most probably are of late mediæval date ; a great number of early smoking pipes of pipeclay, found in the excavations now in progress on the site of Spring Gardens. Others came from the site of an old brick-built house in St. Martin's Lane, recently removed to make way for St. Martin's Vestry Hall. Two of the pipes bear the name of the maker, Gauntlett of Amesbury, Wilts.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited two curious costrels of sixteenth century date, and a fine Flemish jug with a Dutch inscription.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, described a copy of the works of St. Gregory the Great, a fine specimen of early printing, from the press of J. Petit, Paris, 1517. The covers are of leather embossed with characteristic patterns. It was exhibited, however, to show some

evidence of the fate of mediæval MSS. A large mass of fourteenth century parchment, closely written on both sides, had been used in the sixteenth century binding, cut in strips for the purpose.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., F.S.A., forwarded a portion of a letter he had received from Mr. H. Watling relative to the ancient barrows at Wainfleet and Friskney in Lincolnshire. The writer says :—

“Whilst at Wainfleet I thoroughly examined the place. It is certainly a most interesting locality, and the graves or barrows are extremely numerous, extending at least three quarters of a mile on the west side of the main road from Boston to Wainfleet and Skegness, and on pasture-land reclaimed from the marshes. The country all about here is extremely flat, damp, and cold; not a bush to screen you from the sea-wind. I have enclosed a rough outline of these graves, the majority lying in regular order, side by side; some being long ovals in form, 20 ft. in length, and about 8 ft. high; others curved, and so placed that the points of one group turn towards the points of the companion group. I found a small piece of pottery of a dark colour, but without any definite form, and slightly glazed, probably from being placed over a fire. But no disturbance whatever could I detect in any of the barrows. The people hold a tradition that they were mounds thrown up by soldiers to defend themselves from an enemy. A terrible slaughter must have taken place at any rate. In the south of Friskney is a meadow with several more barrows, and between Boston and Spalding are some more exactly like them. In one enclosure there are from twenty to thirty mounds.”

Mr. Cuming added that groups of barrows exist, or perhaps it is safer to say did exist, at Alford, Broughton, Claxby, Ingoldsby, Normanton, Revesby, Tathwell, Well, and other places in Lincolnshire. Those described by Mr. Watling appear to belong to the class denominated “long barrows”, which some consider as the most archaic type of tumuli. At Chapel-le-Marsh, or Marsh Chapel as it is likewise called, a great mound was cut through in December 1881 for the purpose of constructing a culvert, and at a considerable depth down the workmen came upon a large number of shapeless masses of red terracotta, which appear to have been bits of clay squeezed in the hand, and then tolerably well baked. These are locally denominated *Roman bricks*; but their want of symmetry forbids the idea that they were ever intended to be laid in regular courses. They look more like the refuse from a potter’s kiln than the result of any given design, and are precisely similar in character to the *squeezes* found at Ingoldmells in Suffolk, described in this *Journal*, xxii, p. 109.

Mr. Brock read the following :—

DISCOVERIES IN THE CATACOMBS OF ST. PRISCILLA AT ROME.

BY DR. J. RUSSELL FORBES.

At the Catacombs of St. Priscilla, in an *arcosolia*, traces of a fresco have been found. At the top were peacocks; the tail of one only remains. Below is a man putting his right hand on the head of a young person, probably representing an ordination or confirmation, perhaps baptism, as at St. Calistus; but the lower part of the picture is gone. The figure is robed, not nude, as in baptism. On the side of the *arcosolia* are Eve, the tree and the serpent, and Jonah under the gourd-tree; on the opposite side was Adam.

A large crypt, measuring 26 ft. by 13 ft., has been explored, and found to contain sarcophagi. Upon the cover of one is engraved, in running hand,

ACILIO GLABRIONI S
FILIO

In an adjoining gallery the name Acilio was also found, over loculi openings, in Greek. The surname of Rufinus reminds us of the Acilius Rufus, Consul Elect, 105,¹ whilst the names Acilio Glabrioni call to mind the Consul of 91, colleague with Trajan, who was put to death by Domitian, in 95,² for impiety, and embracing the manners and customs of the Jews; that is to say, for being Christians. Glabrio was charged with the same crime, and further, with fighting wild beasts in the amphitheatre. Domitian, who envied his virtue, put him to death under that pretence. Domitian had forced him to fight with the lion which he killed. Suetonius³ says he was exiled first, and then put to death.

Another fragment reads :

M . ACILIVS . *Verus*
C . V . (*clarissimus vir*)
et PRISCILIA . C .

The altar of Romulus at Ostia gives the name of Manius Acilius Glabrio, Consul for the year 124. He was son of the former Consul, and his son was Consul in 152,⁴ and again in 186 with Commodus. An inscription at Pesaro says the wife of the latter was named Arria Plaria Vera Priscilla, so the probability is that the inscription refers to their children.

ARRIAE . L . F . PLARIAE
VERAE . PRISCILLAE
FLAMINICAE
M . ACILI . GLABRIONIS . COS
P . P .
PVBlice.⁵

¹ Pliny, Ep. v, 20.

² Dio Cassius, lxxvii, 12, 14.

³ Dom. x.

⁴ See inscription xv in "Hall of the Faun" in the Capitol.
Gruter, MXXIV, 1.

When the Senate wished to make Pertinax Emperor, in 194, he took Glabrio, who had twice been Consul, by the hand, and proposed to make him Emperor, but he refused.¹

We are now able to clear up what has long been a mystery. This crypt, with the sarcophagi, was the family tomb of the Acilii, made by the Christian son (once Consul); but his Christian father, who was martyred in exile in 96, was not buried here. It passed to the Christian (twice Consul) and to his wife Priscilla. Probably, on the death of the survivor (their children being dead), their property went to the Christian Church, including the family tomb. From this tomb the Christians made the Cemetery which is called after Vera Priscilla, the wife of Manius Acilius Glabrio,—the Catacombs of Priscilla. This agrees with Anastasius,² who says the Cemetery was made, in 307, by Marcellus, Bishop of Rome, and named after the matron Priscilla.

It has long been erroneously supposed that Priscilla was the wife of Pudens. We have proved that his wife's name was Claudia, and we now demonstrate that the Priscilla who gave her name to the Catacombs on the Via Salaria was the wife of the Consul (152 and 186) Glabrio.

Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., sent a paper, which was read in his absence by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, "On the Seal of the Rural Deanery of Newbury in 1451." This paper, it is hoped, will be printed in a future *Journal*.

Mr. Macmichael, in conclusion, favoured the meeting with a further exhibition. This consisted of a boldly carved fragment of the royal arms worked in an oolite stone, and of late seventeenth century date. It was found in the excavations already referred to, now in progress for the new St. Martin's Vestry Hall, on the site of a pond in which it is said Nell Gwynne's mother was drowned.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND APRIL 1890.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected:

Robert Gourlay, Esq., Bank of Scotland, Glasgow
Robert Sorley, Esq., 136 Argyle Street, Glasgow.

The following Honorary Correspondents were also appointed:

Edward Peacock, Esq., Brigg, Lincolnshire
J. H. Macmichael, Esq., Wandsworth.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donor of the following present to the Library:

¹ Herodian, ii, 3.

² xxxi, 31.

To the Society, for the "Journal of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society," vol. xii, 1890.

The Chairman exhibited two rare British coins of types which he believed to be new and undescribed: one bearing a rudely designed chariot on the reverse; the other, plain and unstruck on the reverse.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a printed book, Le Bruyn's *Voyage to the Levant* (London, Jacob Tonson, 1702), for the purpose of showing the curious panorama of Smyrna and other early delineations of Ephesus and other cities, to illustrate one of the papers to be read later on in the evening.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., exhibited a set of rubbings from the base of the cross at Rastrick Churchyard, near Brighouse, Yorks.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on "Gokewell Nunnery", by Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

Mr. George Patrick exhibited a collection of photographs showing several antiquarian sites in Smyrna, and described his journey from Smyrna to Ephesus.

The Rev. H. Cart, M.A., delivered a paper descriptive of a tour he had made recently in the district of Ephesus, dealing chiefly with the incidents of the journey thither and to Smyrna, the condition of the aqueducts, public buildings, temples, and other remains. He particularly deprecated the havoc which the action of Mr. Wood had brought about by removing parts of the Acropolis from their original sites. Mr. Cart exhibited an antique bottle of silver filagree used for containing *henna*.

Mr. Brock read extracts from a work recently published by Mr. O. B. Peter, descriptive of excavations on the site of Launceston Priory.

WEDNESDAY, 16TH APRIL 1890.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associate was duly elected: The Brighton Corporation.

D. R. Warry, Esq., Mill Hill, Greenwich, was elected an Honorary Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library:

To the Society, for "Archæological Journal," No. 185. 1890.

" " for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," 2nd Series, vol. xii, No. IV.

" " for "Sussex Archæological Collections," vol. xxxvii. 1890.



IVY-CHURCH, WILTS.

To the Rev. B. H. Blucker, M.A., for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries."

To the Society, for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," No. 81, vol. ix, 4th Series. Oct. 1889.

„ „ for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire," vol. xxiv, I, Part xlvi. April 1890.

„ „ for "Archæologia Eliana," vol. xiii, II, Part 35, New Series; and vol. xiii, p. iii, Part xxxvi, New Series.

„ „ for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," 1888-9, vol. xxiii.

To C. R. Smith, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., for "Some Account of Garston." By Edw. W. Cox. Liverpool, 1889. 8vo.

„ „ for "A View of the Church at Wallasey." By Edw. W. Cox.

The following communication was read :—

IVY-CHURCH, CO. WILTS.

BY D. R. WARRY, ESQ.

Ivy-Church, or the Ivied Priory, was founded by King Stephen for a prior and thirteen canons, to provide for the spiritual wants of the denizens of Clarendon Forest and of the royal household when at Clarendon Palace. Thomas à Becket lodged here, and rode over thence to Old Clarendon to attend the Council when the famous Constitutions of Clarendon were drawn up. In the Great Pestilence of 1348-9, of the whole fraternity of prior and thirteen canons only one escaped, and there exists a writ of Edward III appointing him Prior, as if he had been duly elected.

After the Dissolution it became the property of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, and was by them sold, about eighty or ninety years since, to the then Lord Radnor, together with the great tithe and manor of Alderbury, in order with the proceeds to redeem the land-tax on the rest of the Cathedral property. Aubrey, in his *Wiltshire Collections*, says, "Mary Countess of Pembroke much delighted in this place. Henry Earl of Pembroke had a lease of it from the Church of Sarum, as also his brother, Sir Philip Sydney, who wrote here much of the *Arcadia*. It is adjoining to Clarendon Park pale, a delicate row of elms, and a noble prospect of Salisbury, and over the country west and north."

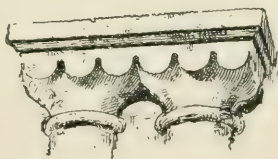
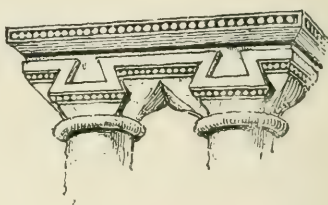
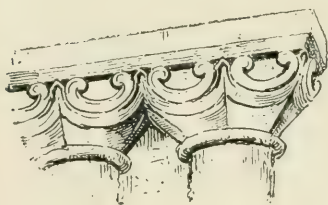
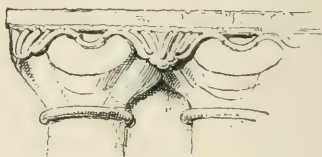
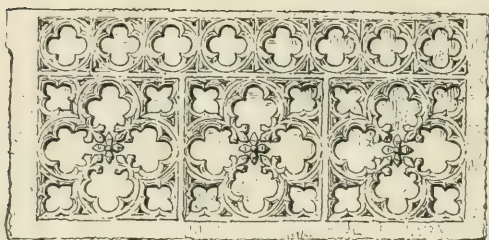
Sir Thomas Elyot, in his *Bibliotheca*, about 1550, says that being with his father, Sir Richard Elyot, at Ivy Church, he "beheld the bones of a dead man found deep in the ground where they digged stone, which being joined together was in length 13 ft. and 10 in., whereof one of the teeth my father had, which was of the quantity of

a great walnut." Perhaps this may in part be explained by what happened here ten or twelve years ago. Lord Radnor's keeper, in digging out a fox in a British encampment called the "Lynckets", about a mile from this, found the skeleton of a Saxon chief with the brass boss of his shield with silver studs on his breast, and the remains of sword, spear, and knife; and he was deemed to be a giant of a man, as they measured his arms against the keeper's, who was 6 ft. high, and found them 2 or 3 in. longer. But it turned out they measured his *legs* instead of his arms, and he was really of very ordinary stature.



Ivy-Church. Building on Site of the Priory.

About thirty or forty years ago the buildings at Ivy-Church were converted into a school, kept by Mr. Sapp. Professor Fawcett was educated there with sons of the neighbouring gentry. The buildings having become much dilapidated in 1888, the late Lord Radnor determined to pull them down,—a decision greatly to be deplored. There were found considerable remains on the south, and the refectory on the north. The monks' cells probably originally connected the two, forming three sides of a quadrangle. The refectory was a noble room, 40 ft. by 18 ft. The original, moulded timbers of the roof were found, and the



FRAGMENTS OF IVY-CHURCH PRIORY.

whole of the east end was covered with a large fresco of the twelve Apostles.

Of the church, two Norman columns and part of the arches are still to be seen, and a doorway of later date. The bosses of the roof were



Frescoes at Ivy-Church.

to be seen in the ceiling of the bedrooms built over the church. With the exception of the columns and doorway of the church, the whole of this interesting building has been levelled to the ground.

Mr. Marriage exhibited an extensive series of engravings representing, for the most part, the religious persecution in the Low Countries during the sixteenth century. The art of these illustrations is of the seventeenth century, and they were evidently the work of distinguished engravers.

The Rev. Dr. Hooppell, of Byers Green Rectory, delivered the third and concluding part of his description of the buried Roman city of Vinovia, on the site of Binchester, Durham. This paper, which it is hoped will be published in the *Journal* at an early period, was illustrated with a series of drawings of details and objects which have been found during recent excavations by Mr. Proud.

In the discussion which took place afterwards, Mr. Broek, Mr. Birch, and the Chairman, made some remarks as to the desirability of exploring in the most careful manner possible sites of Roman cities in Great Britain; and attention was drawn to the fact that the Society of Antiquaries was about to carry out a scientific exploration of the site of Silchester, which the speakers ventured to hope would yield some very remarkable results.

Mr. Macmichael read a paper on Baynard's Castle and antiquities recently found there, some of which were exhibited. It is hoped that this paper will also be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 7 MAY 1890.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, V.P., M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The ballot for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year was declared open, and Scrutators were appointed. At the close of the usual interval the ballot was taken, with the following result:—

President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CARNARVON, D.C.L., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.; THE EARL OF CARNARVON, D.C.L.; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.

CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.

WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT.

J. EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., P.S.A.

A. W. FRANKS, Esq., C.B., M.A., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.

C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.

JOHN WALTER, Esq.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

W. F. LAXTON, Esq., F.S.A.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

Draughtsman.

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

Council.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.	A. G. LANGDON, Esq.
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.	J. T. MOULD, Esq.
ALGERNON BRENT, Esq., F.R.G.S.	GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.
ARTHUR CATES, Esq., F.S.A.	W. ROOFE, Esq.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.	W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.S.L.	R. E. WAY, Esq.
J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.	BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.
RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq., F.S.A.	ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

Auditors.

W. E. HUGHES, Esq.

|

R. RABSON, Esq., B.A.

General regret was expressed by the members present that Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., who had occupied the post of Honorary Treasurer for many years, had been compelled to relinquish his duties on account of ill health.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., moved the following rule, "That members of Council not attending three meetings of Council at least, reckoned from the previous Annual Meeting, be ineligible for the following year." This was seconded, put to vote, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Rayson read the following

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING
31 DECEMBER 1889.

In laying before you my last Balance-Sheet, made up to the end of the past year, which has been drawn out by Mr. Samuel Rayson, audited, and compared with the vouchers, by the Hon. Auditors, I have but few remarks to make.

The balance is £33 : 18 : 4 against the Association. As to this, the Auditors have appended a remark that but for the payment of the remaining cost of Index II the receipts and payments would have been pretty well equalised. I must remind you, however, that the publication of the Index was rightly considered by the Council a work of the utmost importance to the Society, and absolutely necessary for making the now voluminous *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* of practical use to all those who have the science of archæology at heart. It has not sold so rapidly as we might have expected, for a vast number of subscribers to the *Journal* must still be without an index, and to others it would be a useful work of reference. Let us

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1889.

RECEIPTS.

Balance from 1888 in favour of the Association .	£	s.	d.
Annual subscriptions and donations	273	0	8
Life-compositions and entrance-fees .	16	16	0
Sale of publications .	34	14	6
Sale of Index, Vol. II .	2	2	0
Balance from Lincoln Congress .	32	8	10

Balance against the Association . . .

359 2 0
*33 18 4
£399 12 10

EXPENDITURE.

Cost of Index, vol. ii, cleared off .	£	s.	d.
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i> .		36	16 8
Illustrations to the same .		214	3 0
Miscellaneous printing and advertising .		32	13 6
Delivery of <i>Journals</i> .		15	3 6
Rent and salaries .		16	7 11
Stamps, stationery, carriage of antiquities, etc. .		71	13 0
Fire insurance premiums .		7	0 3
		5	15 0

£399 12 10

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

W. ESSINGTON HUGHES } *Auditors.*
ARTHUR G. LANGDON }

21 April 1890.

* The above balance against the Association arises from the cost of the General Index having been entirely cleared off in this year's account.

hope, then, that as its utility becomes recognised, that the sales of the Index will bring in a yearly income in the future.

As to the other items of our receipts, it would be very desirable to obtain more annual subscribers, and also to encourage members to attend the Congresses in larger numbers; and as the forthcoming Meeting at Oxford presents unusual attractions, we may reasonably hope that the receipts from this source, for the current year, may be larger than the last. The expenditure on the *Journal* has been kept down, and it is difficult to see how it can be further reduced without impairing its efficiency.

THOMAS MORGAN.

The Report and Balance-Sheet were adopted unanimously.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the Secretaries' Report: "The Honorary Secretaries beg to report to the Annual General Meeting of the British Archæological Association that the number of the members, as shown by the list published in the March Part of the *Journal*, has somewhat diminished; and this is in a great measure owing to the elimination of the Glasgow Congress members, who by subscription of two guineas or upwards were entitled to be on the last list.

"They also beg to report that several of the papers which have been read recently before the Society have not been transmitted to the Editor for publication; and it is hoped that authors who have papers still in hand will send them on without delay."

W. DE G. BIRCH } *Hon. Secs.*
E. P. L. BROCK }

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., proposed a general vote of thanks to the Officers of the Society, which was seconded and carried unanimously. He also gave some account of the progress of the arrangements at Oxford for the coming Congress.

A discussion arose as to the propriety of creating a fund by the investment of life-compositions, and it was generally agreed to be referred to the Council at the next meeting.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman closed the proceedings.

WEDNESDAY, 21ST MAY 1890.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following announcements of the election of Associates and Honorary Corresponding Members were made :

Robert Lloyd Woolcombe, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., 14 Waterloo Road,
Dublin

T. Cato Worsfold, Esq., Addison House, Balham Hill, S.W.

Clement Locke Smiles, Esq., 14 Lansdowne Road, Notting Hill, W.

J. A. Herbert, Esq., British Museum.

Honorary Corresponding Members :

J. W. Bodger, Esq., Cowgate, Peterborough

E. M. Hance, Esq., LL.D., School Board Offices, Dale Street,
Liverpool

The Rev. H. Cave-Browne, Detling Vicarage, Maidstone

James Dallas, Esq., Curator of the Exeter Museum.

The Chairman exhibited a fine series of flint implements which have been recently found during the progress of the sewerage works at Forest Gate and Wanstead. Some of these were scrapers, with a few flakes. There was also a remarkable knife of very thin flint, neatly worked and chipped.

Two bronze celts were also exhibited. These were recently found close to Mitcham Junction Station, buried in drift-gravel, 6 ft. below the modern surface. They were well preserved, and very good examples of cast work.

Mr. J. H. Macmichael exhibited the following objects of Roman pottery, and rendered the following description :

SOME RECENT SPECIMENS OF INSCRIBED ROMAN POTTERY.

BY J. H. MACMICHAEL, ESQ.

The rim of a *mortuarium*, dug up in Bow Lane, London, from a depth of 22 ft., which has an inscription that is remarkable, in that it is unusual for the coarse, yellow Roman earthenware to bear the three names of one potter, namely the prænomen, nomen, and cognomen; and this triple name in the usual place, near the lip, seems to be unique in presenting the curious reading of [QVINTVS AVERVS VERANIUS]. A further remarkable circumstance is that, in smaller characters, between the three names, the inscription O. GARR. FAC. occurs. It would seem that the names of those slaves who made the domestic earthenware utensils of the Romans were frequently suggested by some one domi-

nant personal characteristic, as in the names, which occur frequently, of "Albinus", "Candidus", "Quietus", "Aprilis", "Secundus", "Quartus", "Quintus".

Among those in the British and Guildhall Museums there is none bearing the triple name of one potter, though the Guildhall list of potters' names has been increased by one example of the two which were dug up in Bow Lane, and differing from the other only in the spelling of the nomen, which is AVERIVS. There are, however, three named in the Catalogue appertaining to the Anglo-Roman Department at the British Museum, of which the first is in the Museum at Exeter (*Isea*), and exactly corresponds with that in Guildhall Museum, namely, Q. AVERIVS VERANIVS. The second has probably been misspelt, as it reads Q. ValERIVS VERANIVS, the letter A being, perhaps, mistaken, with the v for an L, for *Val*. This example is described as being in the Museum at Colchester (*Camulodunum*).

Lastly, there is record of one in Guildhall Museum, though I have it not on the list in my possession, with the inscription, Q. ERIV. GERMANVS. The ERIV is, perhaps, an elliptical spelling of the same evidently well-known potter's name, AVERIVS, blundered, with the AV omitted, possibly through the stamp being carelessly impressed, and the U mistaken for a v.

With these two interesting fragments of the larger, coarser earthenware *mortaria* was found another entire, with the exception that it had the usual hole in the base, and bearing the inscription [SOLLVS F.] on the rim; also the neck of an amphora, with the letter A indented in the clay while yet soft; the neck of a large jar of black Upchurch ware; two tiles of yellow earthenware, very compact and heavy, one having figures on it; and a Roman pitcher of light yellowish earthenware.

A paper was then read by Mr. J. W. Davis on an altar-slab of the fourteenth century date, inscribed, which exists built up as old material, at some farm-offices at Sheepscombe, Gloucestershire, removed from the domestic chapel of the mansion of the Earls of Shrewsbury formerly existing in the locality. It is to be hoped that this interesting paper will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. E. Walford, M.A., pointed out that very few examples of this kind of inscribed slabs remain.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, then described a curious discovery recently made at Stevington Church, Bucks., where, on removing some plaster from the south face of the tower, the Vicar has found and opened out a Saxon doorway and a window over it. The latter is remarkable for retaining a thin oak slab set midway in the wall in which the window-opening is pierced. This paper will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*, with illustration.

WEDNESDAY, 4TH JUNE 1890.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited an extensive collection of objects which he had obtained from recent excavations, about 14 ft. deep, in King Street, Southwark. Among them were third brass Roman coins from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine, Samian fragments, crucibles of uncertain periods, a scored flue-tile, some fictile vessels of unknown use with holes for drainage, a fibula enamelled in dark blue, with the figure of an eagle, a Roman bronze hairpin, and some iridescent glass.

The Chairman exhibited a fine Samian vase; a bone skate, probably formed from the tibia of a deer; Samian fragments, one with inscription, MASVETI; Upchurch-ware vessels; and a bone implement carved from a sheep's leg-bone, stained green in parts, and roughly squared. He also exhibited a collection of photographs of ancient sites at Pompeii, illustrating the progress of the excavations there. Among them also the photograph of the figure of a young girl, obtained by pouring liquid plaster of Paris into a mould formed by the lava or scorice which overwhelmed the unfortunate Roman lady while she was endeavouring to escape from the fatal spot. The figure is prone, the knees bent, and the hands apparently holding a cloth to the face, as if to counteract the sulphurous vapours which suffocated her.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the arrangements for the Oxford Congress were progressing satisfactorily, and a programme, which had been sketched out before the Council that day, would be issued to the members in a few days.

Mr. Birch read a paper entitled "Barholme Church, Lincolnshire, and its Relation to so-called Anglo-Saxon Architecture," by Mr. J. T. Irvine of Peterborough. It is hoped that the paper, which was illustrated with a series of pencil drawings of great interest, will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Roofe exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Saunders of Portsmouth, a manuscript narrative of the Mutiny at the Nore, with a portrait of Parker the ringleader.

Mr. Birch again drew attention to the proposed investigation of the site of Silchester by the Society of Antiquaries, and in the discussion which ensued the Chairman and Mr. Patrick took part.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH JUNE 1890.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

T. Cann Hughes, Esq., The Groves, Chester, was elected a Life-Member.

Library of Christ College, Cambridge, elected a Member.

A. Rimmer, Esq., Chester, was appointed an Honorary Correspondent.

W. F. Laxton, Esq., *Hon. Treasurer*, elected a Vice-President.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., for a pamphlet on "The Manor-House, Wandsworth," 1890.

E. P. L. Brock, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced the discovery of a secret dungeon-chamber in a projecting block of masonry in Lancaster Castle, which was communicated to him by Dr. Harker.

Mr. Brock also exhibited a double plate of thin iron with a series of brass knobs or balls welded on it, and a pilgrim's badge of a half *rose en soleil* with rays issuing from it; both from London excavations.

Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., exhibited a fibula and capulus (subject of a dog and hare), bronze, found in Wollaston Field, Dorchester, Dorset; knives and keys of various dates from Queenhithe, near London Bridge; knives from Queen Victoria Street; knife and key from Great Eastern Railway excavations at Broad Street, City; and spurs from Bucklersbury.

The Chairman exhibited a number of objects, and read the following:—

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES EXHIBITED BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW,
V.P.

I have the pleasure of laying before the Association this evening the following objects:—

A Roman bronze eagle with wings, legs, claws, and tail displayed. Head to right. Height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. It is a fine specimen, and rare, of Roman art. Found this year in Canterbury.

Ancient British.—Large portion of a richly incised British drinking-vessel, about 9 in. high.

Roman Pottery.—Three ollæ, or cups, of Castor, Upchurch, and Romano-British ware; one polished, and of very elegant form. Found at Austin Friars, 1889.

Roman Glass.—A hexagon and narrow, flat bottle for liquid perfumes or unguent. Found at Austin Friars, 1889. The first transparent, the second apple-green.

A large ampulla found in the Roman camp, Ockley, Surrey. In shape fine; probably of first century. It may have been used at the funeral feast, and afterwards buried.

Chinese cup of onyx glass, showing imitation of stratification. This is 8 in. high, has been moulded solidly, and turned in a lathe. Three ducks rising from or terminating in a bear's foot, on a plinth, with wings outstretched, support the cup, the lip of which is enriched with an elaborate Chinese pattern. On the cup are two peculiar Chinese marks of art, two supposititious cracks, and a piece of onyx, apparently inserted, having its stratification adverse to the seam in which it is placed. As with China porcelain, the age of its glass is equally difficult to determine.

Venetian.—A very fine standing cup of floral form, about 16 in. high, from Carlton Hall, Yorkshire.

A model, in glass, of the Augustus,—the great gem of the Gold Room, British Museum.

Metal.—A damascened knife of thin steel enclosed in a sharply curved case. The case appears to have been washed with gold, and is richly incised with flower and bird patterns, and four figures, each of whom bears the nimbus. From the position and association of three of these figures arises a suggestion of a Trinity; the fourth may be a high priest. If so, the knife, being Abyssinian, may be pronounced also sacrificial.

A flamboyant dagger of iron set in massive horn hand-grasp. Our excellent and learned friend, H. S. Cuming, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., V.P., reminds us that William I possessed a "gleaming sword", and such was the fashion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The blade exhibited suggests an Oriental origin,—perhaps pattern more correctly, as the grasp is distinctly European.

An oval reliquary, gold, of the seventeenth century, engraved with a running pattern of leaves, roses, and ornament. Above are the skull and crossed bones; below, the legend, "*Vita . ore . volat.*"

A large, artistic, intricate, highly ornamental, and perforated casting in gilt metal, of the seventeenth century, intended as the cover to a Shakespearean volume. A profile portrait of Shakespeare occupies the central oval, and a surrounding ribbon bears the legend of a lost book, "*Sentiments and Similes of William Shakespeare.*"

The head of the Saviour, three-quarter size, in carved wood, worked by one with inspired hand and intellect, and who copied accurately the head of the Christus in Raphael's immortal "*Transfiguration*". Found with seventeenth century pottery in Fore Street, City, July 1889.

Mr. J. M. Wood read a paper on the "Round Church Towers of South Ockendon and Bardfield-Saling, or Little Saling, co. Essex, and

illustrated his remarks with some drawings and rubbings. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter.

Mr. J. Macmichael read a paper on "Hornbooks", and illustrated his observations by the exhibition of a fine ivory specimen, with an ostrich on the back, lately found in London.

Our Vice-President, Dr. John Evans, F.R.S., P.S.A., very kindly sent two interesting examples of the Horn-Book for comparison with that exhibited by Mr. Macmichael: (1), from Hemel Hempstead, with the printed sheet of letters and Lord's Prayer in it, covered with a thin sheet of horn; on the back of stamped leather a mermaid. (2), the printed sheet of letters and Prayer, and horn-film still remaining in the frame over the paper; on the stamped leather of the back, St. George and the dragon.

The Chairman also added another example to the series, without the sheet of letters, but with the horn still remaining.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 69.)

WEDNESDAY, 31ST JULY 1889.

AT Sleaford an inspection of the archæological features of the town took place. The exterior of the Parish Church was first examined, attention being drawn to the tower and spire, which have been rebuilt within the past few years from the ruins of the structure injured by lightning. The picturesque composition of the west front, with its massive tower, its traceried windows, and its carved niches, has an impressive effect. Many of the monuments are to the memory of members of the ancient family of Carr, whose benefactions to Sleaford are numerous.

The remains of the Castle were visited. It was built in the early part of the twelfth century by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, who seems to have shared the disposition of his uncle, the celebrated Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, for castle-building. Neither of these edifices was able to resist the attacks of King Stephen, to whom Alexander submitted. The Bishop, however, appears to have been ultimately reinstalled. The only remaining part of the Castle is a fragment of the wall on the north-east angle, a few yards high, and of great thickness. It is possible to trace the whole of the foundations. The position of the gateway is indicated, and there is also evidence of the double defence of a ditch and moat.

The party returned by train to Lincoln, and in the evening the members assembled in the School of Science and Art to hear papers on "The Churches of Lincoln," by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*; on "Joan Beaufort," by Mr. J. P. Pritchett; and on "Pewter Antiquities found in the Fenland," by Mr. H. Prigg.

THURSDAY, 1ST AUGUST 1889.

This day's excursion was to Boston. The first visit was to the Parish Church, majestic in its noble proportions, conspicuous from a very

long distance, by the lofty tower familiarly known by the name of "Boston Stump." The generally accepted idea as to the antiquity of the Church of St. Botolph was somewhat modified by this visit of archaeologists. According to some the first stone of the tower was laid in 1309, the nave and chancel being built earlier. Mr. Brock's opinion was that the tower could not have been built at that period. He assigns the nave and the first three bays of the chancel to between 1325 and 1350. The extension of the chancel dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century, and to the same date may be attributed the whole of the tower from base to summit. The tower is one of the final efforts of Gothic architecture, and it may be taken as one of the finest specimens of that style. The existing church was probably built upon the foundations of a Norman church; in fact, when the edifice was restored in 1853, the present Vicar, Canon Blenkin, who to-day extended a cordial welcome to the visitors, saw a Norman pillar under one of the columns of the south aisle. In the interior there is an absence of attempt at adornment even in the shape of monuments. The first impression conveyed on entering the church is that of an enormous weight resting upon the slender support of the columns. The absence of transepts in a church of its dimensions is also a striking feature. With the exception of Coventry Parish Church, it is the largest church in England without transepts. An interesting feature is the pulpit, from which many a Puritan sermon was preached by Vicar Cotton before going out to found the new city of Boston in the United States, and in whose memory the chapel at the south-west angle of the church has been restored.

The contents of the Library received attention. It contains, among other valuable works, a copy of a first edition of the Prayer-Book of Edward VI, a MS. of St. Augustine's works, and an edition of Chaucer.

Under the guidance of Dr. Adam, the members of the party were enabled to see other objects in the town. Shodfriars' Hall, a fifteenth century half-timbered house, is one of the oldest buildings in Boston. It was restored a few years ago, but much of the original woodwork was preserved. It is now used as a club-house.

The old Guildhall stands not far away. Here was seen a portrait of Sir Joseph Banks by Lawrence. Banks took an active part in reclaiming the Fens.

From a distance the visitors saw the Hussey Tower. Lord Hussey, the original owner, was executed at Lincoln in the time of Henry VIII for his connection with the "Pilgrimage of Grace." He is said to have been taken to the place of his doom through one of the windows of "John of Gaunt's Stables" in that city. This tower is of the same character as several existing in Lincolnshire, of which Tattershall is the largest.

On returning, a stop was made at Tattershall, and the Tower, one of the best specimens of brick architecture in the county, visited. It was built about the year 1440 by Lord Treasurer Cromwell. The fortress was of an extensive character, but suffered considerably during the civil wars. Originally the tower of the Castle was enclosed by two ditches; a portion of one is still in existence. The remaining part of the Tower is in good preservation. It consists of a large quadrangular block supported upon arches that form vaults extending into the bases of the turrets. The traceried windows are a striking feature.

The old collegiate church, to the east of the Castle, was also visited before the party returned to Lincoln in time for the evening meeting, the programme of which included an illustrated lecture on "Lincoln City", by the Rev. Canon Venables, B.D., Precentor.

FRIDAY, 2ND AUGUST 1889.

To-day a visit was made to the county of Nottingham. At Newark, the first calling-place, the remains of the old Castle were examined. The surroundings of the Castle have recently been made attractive by laying out the grounds as a garden, and it is intended to make certain necessary repairs to the ruins, which have been purchased by the Corporation. The public spirit of the authorities in thus helping to preserve and beautify the remnant of a structure whose history is bound up with the history of the town itself, was a subject commented upon by the archæologists as an example worthy of imitation by other bodies.

The Castle dates from the time of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, who is said to have erected it at the beginning of the twelfth century in a style similar to his Castle at Sleaford. It is a good specimen of Norman architecture, having the characteristics of a palace. Bishop Alexander's work is visible in many parts of the buildings, which consist of a large gatehouse connected by a substantial wall with a square, ivy-covered tower. Portions of thirteenth century work were pointed out by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, who also directed attention to evidences of the introduction of the Perpendicular style at a later date. Most of the visitors descended into the crypt, supported under the banqueting hall by plain Norman arches resting upon piers extending along the apartment. The Castle is full of interesting associations. Here King John breathed his last, three days after he arrived from Sleaford. Henry VII came to the Castle on the day that preceded the battle of Stoke. Cardinal Wolsey sought its protection on his way to Southwell; James I visited the Castle on his progress from Scotland to the throne of England. Charles I appears to have been the last royal

visitor to the Castle, for it was dismantled during the civil war, and only a fragment of it was left to tell posterity of its former grandeur.

The Church of St. Mary Magdalene at Newark, which was next visited, is a large and grand mediæval edifice. In the beauty and grace of its tower and spire it is only rivalled, in this part of the country, by Grantham and Louth. The lower portion is a good specimen of Early English architecture, and the upper stage is effectively adorned with interlacing work such as may be seen in Lincoln Cathedral,—a style of ornamentation which the Bishop of Nottingham believes is peculiar to this part of England. The interior of the church is fine; slender pillars support beautifully moulded arches, and the same grace is seen in the carved screen-work of the Perpendicular period, which is one of the features of the church, the canopies especially being considered as fine specimens of this class of workmanship as any in the country. A curious old painting of a "Dance of Death" occupies two of the panels of a chapel on the south side of the choir. The crypt was visited. The church, however, appeared to be in a very insanitary condition, and an unpleasant odour drove some of the party away from the building.

Several of the visitors drove to Hawton Church, a small but very interesting building, chiefly remarkable for an Easter sepulchre and sedilia, which, with the east window, so nearly resemble similar objects seen at Heckington Church the other day as to afford good grounds for the belief expressed by Mr. Brock that they are the work of the same masons.

From Newark, where the visitors had been received with the greatest hospitality by the Mayor, the party continued the journey to Southwell. Here Lord Byron once lived for a time in a house still in existence.

Southwell Minster was then visited. The towers, the nave, and the transepts, belong to the Norman period. The choir is an all but perfect specimen of Early English, the only departure from that style being the addition of one or two Decorated pinnacles in the aisles, and a slight deviation in the eastern gable. The chapter-house belongs to the Decorated period, and is not only an embodiment of some of the best forms of Gothic art, but the repository of examples of exquisite carving. The idea of enormous strength and solidity is suggested by the massive proportions of the nave with its low, heavy Norman columns supporting arches of appropriate character. A rather singular circumstance is that the span of the arches into the transepts is greater than those into the nave and choir.

The Lord Bishop of Nottingham, who gave valuable information as to the various features of the church, took the visitors into the Palace, which he has recently purchased and restored. This building

was once the residence of the Archbishops of York when Southwell was an appendage to that diocese.

The party returned direct to Lincoln, and in the evening the Sheriff and Mrs. Whitton received the party at a *conversazione* in the Assembly Rooms.

SATURDAY, 3RD AUGUST 1889.

This day's excursion was to Gainsborough. The ancient Hall was first examined. The house suffered seriously during the Wars of the Roses. At that time its owner was Sir Thomas de Burgh, a Yorkist. The extent to which the mansion was damaged by the Lancastrians is unknown; it is probable that only the upper portion was destroyed. At any rate he had his reward when the house of York obtained the ascendancy, for Edward IV installed him into several offices, and enabled him to rebuild his home. The property afterwards passed into the Hickman family, who ceased to reside here about the year 1750, since which time it has been devoted to many uses. Before it was turned into a theatre, John Wesley preached in the Hall. It has since served the purposes of a Corn-Exchange and a Mechanics' Institute; and the walls of the building in which Henry VIII and Catherine Howard were the guests of the Lord Burgh only a few months before that unfortunate Queen was led to execution, now resound to the rap of the auctioneer's hammer. Forty years ago the building was restored, and many portions of the structure saved from destruction; and the present owner, Sir Hickman Bacon, has had it repaired within the last few years. Originally there was a cloister, completing a court, of which the existing portions form three sides. The different parts of the building present a quaint but picturesque composition when viewed externally. The main portion has a framework of oak-timber filled in with plaster. The tower at the north-east angle, probably a part of the house sacked by the Lancastrians, is of brick, of which material the kitchens at the opposite end of the hall are constructed; while most interesting of all is the fifteenth century oriel window. The manor was once surrounded by a moat, of which there are traces. The Hall was inspected with care, the party being conducted by Sir Hickman Bacon. Nothing remains of the original furniture of the house; not even the pictures, of which the owners, on leaving the manor a century and a half ago, are said to have made a bonfire in the yard. With a collection of antique furniture and tapestry, however, Sir Hickman Bacon has given an attractive appearance to one of the rooms.

The parish church of All Saints differs in style from anything that the party had hitherto seen in their Lincolnshire tour, having been rebuilt in classic style. The tower is of the Perpendicular period. The

Parish Registers, which were exhibited to the party by Canon Warner, go back to 1564.

After a visit to Coates Church, for an examination of its rood-loft, the party visited Stow, "The Mother Church of Lindsey", the predecessor of Lincoln Cathedral. It has been thought that Stow can be identified with the Roman station, Sidnacester, which became the seat of the bishopric of Lindisfar in 678. The antiquity of the church is evident. The party inspected portions of the building which Eadnoth the Second, Bishop of Dorchester, erected, and which was enriched by Leofric Earl of Mercia, and his wife, the Lady Godiva. A door in the north transept was carefully examined, and it was seen that the masonry of the lower part of the transept-walls is of a very early character, and that, moreover, it bears internal as well as external indications of fire. (See p. 172.)

In this part of the church a large piece of molten stone and metal was found some time ago. The treasure was preserved, and a brass plate near the place where it was found sets forth that "This cinder is a relic of the fire when the church was burnt by the Danes, A.D. 870. It has dropped, while in a state of fusion, from the walls and roof, and in cooling assumed its present shape."

Whatever grounds may exist for this statement, authorities agree that the lower stage of the central tower is Eadnoth's work. The upper stage belongs to the Perpendicular period, but the body of the church is Norman. In the course of alterations the remains of a fresco commemorating the martyrdom of Thomas à Becket, of Canterbury, were found on the east wall of the north transept, probably the site of an altar dedicated to the murdered Archbishop.

This was the last excursion of the Congress, and on return to Lincoln the members attended the closing meeting and dinner.

EXTRA DAYS.

MONDAY, 5TH AUGUST 1889.

Though the Congress closed on Saturday, some of the members remained for three extra days. Leaving the city on Monday morning the party were conveyed to Thornton, where Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, gave a description of the Abbey.

The ruins of the celebrated Monastery of Thornton are situated near the Humber, in the parish of Thornton Curtis, about five miles from New Holland. This Monastery was founded by William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle and Lord of Holderness, about 1139, for Austin Canons,

and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. When first founded, Thornton was a Priory, and the monks, with Richard their Prior, were introduced from the Abbey of Kirkham. As a Priory it continued but a short period. Having been endowed by many benefactors it began to assume some degree of that consequence which it ultimately attained, and Richard was advanced to the dignity of Abbot by Pope Eugenius III, A.D. 1148. In the year 1541, Thornton Abbey was honoured by a royal visit. The Abbey was suppressed 23rd Henry VIII, but the King reserved the greater part of the lands to endow a college, which he established in its stead, for a dean and prebendaries, to the honour of the Trinity. From the existing remains at Thornton there is evidence that it has been a structure of considerable extent, and possessing much architectural beauty. It consisted originally of an extensive quadrangle, nearly approaching to a square, surrounded by a deep ditch and high ramparts, and evidently considered as a place of occasional defence, rendered necessary by its contiguity to the Humber and the German Ocean. The gate-house, which formed the western entrance, is nearly entire, and thought to be one of the most complete pieces of ancient fortifications remaining in this realm. The brickwork of the building is said to be among the oldest existing. It consists of a "vast tower or castle wherein all methods of Gothic architecture for offence and defence are employed."

In the grounds of the Abbey may be seen the ruins of the ancient church and chapter-house, and fragments of many sepulchral monuments, the inscriptions on some of which may still be traced.

In a field before the college gate are traces of the class of British tumuli known as Druidical barrows.

Barton-upon-Humber, whither the visitors proceeded on leaving the Abbey, is a market town pleasantly situated on the southern bank of the river Humber, upon a gentle declivity at the foot of the northern extremity of the Wolds. It is a place of great antiquity, and was formerly surrounded by a rampart and fosse, the remains of which are still visible in what are called the Castle Dykes. It is mentioned in *Domesday Survey* as containing a church, a priest, with two mills of 40s. value, and one market, and a ferry of £4 value. At the time of the Conquest, Barton was a considerable port and corporate town; but its commerce gradually declined after Edward I had constituted Hull a free borough, and conferred upon the inhabitants of that port so many privileges and immunities. When Edward III issued his mandate to raise a force for the invasion of France, Barton furnished, according to one account, three ships and twenty men; and to another, five ships and ninety-one men; while some of the present seaports on the Eastern coast were not even mentioned. However, the interest of our party of visitors centred chiefly in the two churches which Barton contains.

The church dedicated to St. Peter appears, from its tower, to have been erected early in the eleventh century; but the body of the church has been rebuilt since the introduction of the Pointed arch. It consists of a nave and two aisles. In the chancel-windows are two figures in stained glass, one of which is habited as a pilgrim, and is said to represent the famous warrior, Lord Beaumont, to whom this manor was granted by Henry II. Walter, the son of the first Gilbert de Gant, gave the church, with the tithes belonging thereto, to the Abbey of Bardney, and it continued in the possession of that Abbey until the Dissolution, when it fell to the Crown, and was afterwards granted to lay proprietors. At the time of the enclosure the patron obtained an allotment in lieu of the great tithes.

St. Mary's Church is a more modern building, and is very spacious. It has evidently been built with materials from some of the decayed religious houses, as appears from the discrepancy in the pillars and arches, some of which are circular, and others in the Pointed style, particularly in the centre aisle, where these styles are directly opposed to each other.

TUESDAY, 6TH AUGUST 1889.

The programme for this day included a drive to Navenby, Wellingore, Welbourn, Leadenham, and Brant Broughton, to see the churches at these villages, returning to Lincoln *via* Somerton Castle.

WEDNESDAY, 7TH AUGUST 1889.

The programme for this day included a visit to Grantham, Belvoir Castle, and Bottesford.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Ecclesiastical Heraldry, Ancient and Modern, by Rev. JOHN WOODWARD, F.S.A.Scot., is ready for press, and shortly to be published by subscription, royal 8vo., fully illustrated from drawings by the Author. Price 21s. to subscribers only.—The object of this treatise is to deal with heraldry from an ecclesiastical point; to give information as to the insignia of sees, abbeys, religious foundations, and communities at home and abroad; to indicate the manners in which ecclesiastics have borne arms, and combined personal with official insignia; and to describe those ornaments and external additions to the shield by which ecclesiastical ranks and offices are distinguished.

The work contains curious information on subjects which have never yet been fully treated by an English writer, derived from coins, medals, and seals, and from scarce works; also from notes made by the writer in travels in Italy, Germany, France, and Spain. The artist, the collector of books, plate, seals, china, and book-plates, the antiquary, and the student of heraldry, will find here much useful information. It also contains an enlargement of the *Notice of the Arms of the Bishops of Great Britain and Ireland, with Heraldic Notes*, written by the Author in illustration of a series of illuminated coats of arms, published by A. Warren in 1868. This book (of which Her Majesty the Queen was pleased to accept the dedication) has now been long out of print.

The Continental portion contains the blazon of the arms of the Popes from 1144 to the present time, an account of the great religious principalities of the Holy Roman Empire, and historical and heraldic information with regard to the principal sees, religious houses, and chapters in Germany, Italy, France, Poland, and the Low Countries, as well as the devices of the most important religious orders and communities.

The Monumental History of the Early British Church. By J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.Scot. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.)—This will be found a very useful handbook to the British antiquary who desires to peruse a succinct account of the various monuments which the Church has left in evidence of her great antiquity in these islands. Mr. Allen has brought together a large collection of facts, and recorded numerous observations, which form an accumulative proof of much weight in favour of the existence of a pre-

Augustine Church in Britain. He classifies these remains and details of ecclesiastical buildings as churches, sepulchral memorials, manuscripts, and works of art, and discusses their age and origin in a lucid and attractive style. The illustrations which he has provided give additional interest to a little book which combines in a happy manner the twofold aspects of an educational manual and a tabular review of the principal outlines of this favourite antiquarian subject.

Lindores Abbey and the Burgh of Newburgh. By ALEXANDER LAING, F.S.A.Scot. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.) Scottish monastic history possesses much that renders it attractive to the reader of antiquarian literature, and Mr. Laing, in the work before us, adds another abbey to the list of Scottish religious houses which have formed the special subject of separate monographs.

Starting from prehistoric times he takes up the thread of local history through the Celtic and Frisian periods, the Druidical and Scandinavian influences acting upon the eastern and south-eastern districts of Scotland, and so carries us down the stream of time to the period of David Earl of Huntingdon, brother of the King of Scots, and founder of Lindores, to the honour of St. Benedict.

The varied fortunes of the Abbey and the personal history of the Abbots are graphically told, and the side-lights of witchcraft, parochial annals, industrial pursuits, manners, and customs, and miscellaneous relics of the vicinity, contribute materials for chapters not less pregnant with information and research than those to which they form an appendage. What makes the book of more than ordinary value is that it is supplied with a very full index; and the appendix of texts and documentary evidences enable the student not only to criticise the author's deductions, but to glean incidental information on many obscure points of history which would be scarcely procurable elsewhere.

A History of Coggeshall in Essex. By G. F. BEAUMONT. 1890. (E. Potter, Coggeshall.) This is an interesting and exhaustive account of a parish not very well known, though near to London. The author has evidently taken great pains to gather together and classify all the legends, traditions, and records relating to his subject, and he has probably allowed very little of any importance to escape notice.

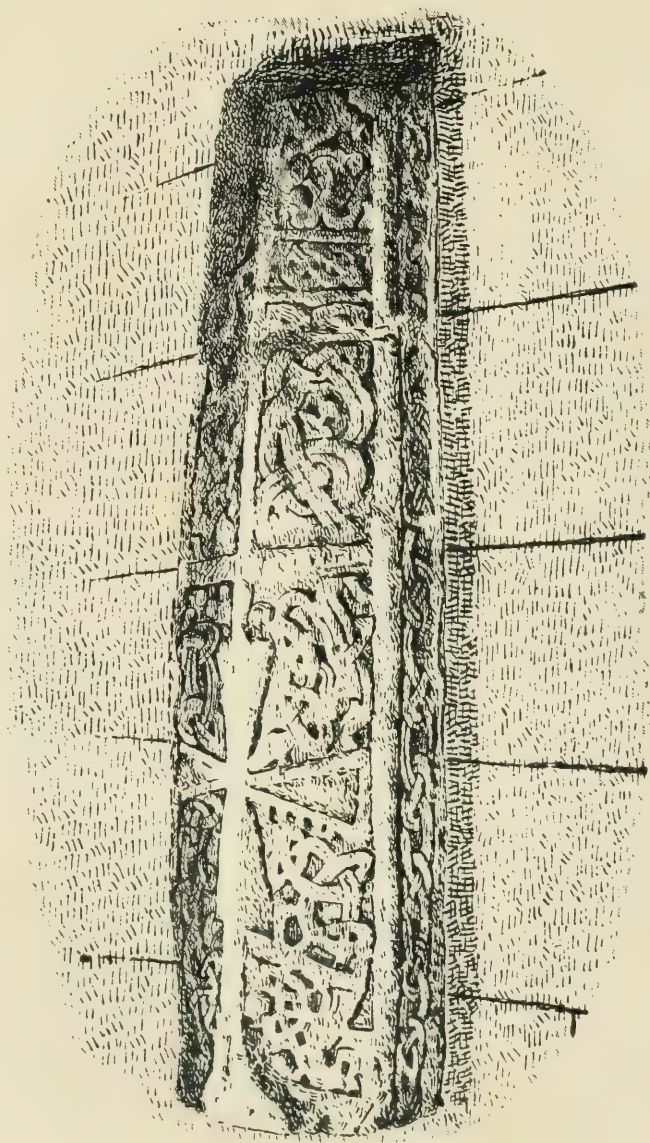
The origin of the place and the name is lost in obscurity, but the occurrence of fragments of Roman pottery built up into the walls of the church sufficiently indicate that even in Roman times there was a centre of civilisation somewhere adjacent to the present site of the village. On the other hand, the name, which points to Cogga's or Coega's Hall (*i.e.*, the stone-built house of a great man of the name of Coega or Cogga, probably of Northern origin), seems to show that the

village had not arisen until after the Roman period ; or at any rate, if it had, had not preserved its more ancient nomenclature.

This work is carefully divided into sections, which enable it to be easily consulted by the antiquary. To the history of the church, with its registers, monuments, clerical biographies, and charters, succeed an account of the Abbey and Abbots, of the manors, chapels, charitable institutions, and local manufactories ; of which latter the principal are the cloth-trade, the making of tambour-lace, silk, isinglass, and the growing of seeds. The chapter of notables includes notices of the Coggeshalls, Fabians, the martyrs Hawkes and others, John Jegon, Bishop of Norwich, John Godard, and Nathaniel Rogers. The work concludes with some account of the ancient houses, names of the fields, fairs, customs, folk-lore, and traditions, and is provided with a capital index, without which no work on parochial antiquities can be properly consulted, particularly one so full of varied information as this is.

Mr. Beaumont has done his work thoroughly, and his book is sure to be appreciated as a model of what the history of a parish should be.

An Anglo-Saxon Cathedral : a Handbook to Stow Church, near Lincoln. By Rev. W. N. USHER, M.A., Rector of Stow. (Lincoln : Williamson.)—This useful little account of that noble building, the ancient Cathedral of Lincolnshire, will be highly appreciated by our members. The author has given a correct and excellent *résumé* of the history and architecture of an edifice which was one of the brightest gems of our recent Congress. The modest price (6*d.*) places it beyond doubt that the edition will soon be exhausted. We advise our readers to secure in this a pleasant memorial of last summer's visit to the Province of Lindsey, which formerly looked up to Stow as its mother-church.



SEPULCHRAL SLAB AT HICKLING, CO. NOTT.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1890.

BAYNARD CASTLE, AND EXCAVATIONS ON ITS SITE.

BY J. H. MACMICHAEL, ESQ.

(*Read 16th April 1890.*)

WRITERS on the antiquities of London erroneously assume that there is no vestige of Baynard Castle left but the name,—a name which, albeit, one should be thankful survives in the Ward of Castle Baynard. This oversight is, doubtless, owing to the fact that the only portion remaining is not visible except from the river or from Bankside, Southwark. This consists of a piece of the original wall which faced the river, as in all the old prints of Baynard Castle, of which the stones were fastened together (evidently immediately after the demolition of the walls, when the Castle was destroyed in the Great Fire) by rivets, one of which, and a nail found lying loose upon the wall, I secured by descending, at a slight risk of testing the buoyancy of Thames water, grown considerably muddier since kings used there to embark.

This wall of Kentish rag, unimportant in so far that it affords no indication of the original design of the structure, is shortly to be demolished to make way for another colossal warehouse. How many of the millions who have passed up and down the silent highway in a penny steamboat have observed this interesting relic of an historic castle, where, in the words of the writer of *Old and New London*, “for several centuries after the

Conquest Norman barons held their state, and behind its stone ramparts maintained their petty sovereignty”?

As to the transformation which the neighbourhood of Baynard's Castle has undergone at different periods of London's checkered history, Malcolm, who died in 1815, says in his *Londinium Redivivum*, “perhaps no district abounded with more interesting objects than were originally within this. Instead of stately castles, a royal tower, the wardrobe, a flourishing monastery, the city wall, and many noblemen's houses, we have now dirty lanes and falling habitations.” The dirty lanes no longer accommodate dirt to the same extent as in Malcolm's time, while legends of soap may occasionally be seen on the hoardings. As to the falling habitations, they also are fast disappearing, and where, previously to their existence, “Norman barons held their state”, gigantic warehouses are now rising,—the most important architecturally, so far as the adornment of the banks of the Thames is concerned, being the captivating white, enamelled brick structure, of most imposing dimensions, which has been erected for Messrs. Pilkington, the glass-factors, of St. Helen's, Lancashire, by Messrs. Chambers the architects.

In the course of the late excavations for the foundations of this warehouse, in Upper Thames Street, many interesting relics have been unearthed, which one may trust will never be dispersed, and even eventually find their way to the Guildhall Museum, associated as Baynard's Castle will be for all time with the great name of Shakespeare. “If you thrive well, bring them to Baynard's Castle”, says Gloucester to Buckingham in the play of *Richard III*, in allusion to that wily noble's efforts to engage the sympathy of the citizens with the reputed bastardy of Edward's children; and one of the best scenes in the play is laid in the court-room of the Castle, where Buckingham, as the result of his schemings, saluted Gloucester as King. The voluptuous Edward, “unsatiate” Edward, took the crown here, and here Henry VII lodged. In Baynard's Castle, which was used on occasions of formality as a royal palace until Elizabeth's time, Queen Mary had her right to the throne resolved upon when the country was in fear of England

becoming a mere dependency of the Spanish crown through her marriage with Philip. Lady Jane Grey was also proclaimed Queen there ; to say nothing of the monarchs from the time of William the Conqueror, who must have been entertained at so important a fortress, the last being Charles II, who is described by Pepys, in his *Diary*, as going, accompanied by "my Lord Sandwich, to supper at Baynard's Castle", June 19, 1660, evidently at the invitation of the then Earl of Shrewsbury, as the Earls of Shrewsbury resided there till the Great Fire, which six years afterwards left in its dire course only the blackened walls, never to be rebuilt. It had, therefore, been twice burnt by fire, and twice rebuilt or repaired, as in 1428 it was almost entirely destroyed by fire, and rebuilt by the Good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. Henry VII again repaired it or rebuilt it, and "changed its form", says Pennant, "into that of a palace for quiet times",—"the piping time of peace", to use the words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Henry's ill-fated antagonist and predecessor of York before the battle of Bosworth Field.

The appearance of some of the objects exhibited, of having been subjected involuntarily to fire, is perhaps accounted for by one of those fires which at different times ravaged the Castle. For instance, in the Earl of Clarendon's autobiography, wherein he animadverts so minutely and interestingly upon the origin and scope of the Great Fire, we are told that "where the fire prevailed most, when it met with brick buildings, if it was repulsed, it was so well resisted that it made a much slower progress ; and when it had done its worst, that the timber and all the combustible matter fell down to the bottom and the walls stood and enclosed the fire, and it was burned out without making any further progress. From the bridge to Dorset house, which was burned on Tuesday night, after Baynard's Castle", continues the writer, "there was scarce a house or church standing." This, I confess, is a very unsatisfactory allusion to the Fire, as to its progress in consuming Baynard's Castle; but further and less meagre reference I do not think is made by any writer, at least I am unable to find any.

It is to the structure as rebuilt, then, by the founder of the Tudor dynasty that the few architectural remains, such as the transom of a double or two-light window, and the two corbels (to be shortly hereafter referred to), possibly appertain, though the probability that they are of Roman workmanship renders them of additional interest. According to an old view, which Pennant refers to as an "old Survey of London", while leaving no clue as to its identity, the Castle included a square court with an octagonal tower in the centre (by the way, in all the prints I have seen, with the exception of Wyngrede's Map, this and also the other towers are hexagonal) and two towers in front, between which were several square projections from top to bottom, with the windows in pairs, one above the other. Beneath was a bridge, and stairs to the river.

As to the situation and origin of the Castle, it occupied the western extremity of the City boundaries, as the Tower of London does the eastern, and like the Tower, it was built partially upon Roman foundations. It was so named after "one Baynard", as Stow obscurely alludes to the nobleman who built it, and who accompanied William the Conqueror to England.

The Roman wall which ran along the whole south side of London proper terminated, in Roman times, both east and west, with a fortress which was called *Arx Palatina*, or the Imperial (Palatine) Fortress. Upon the site of these fortresses the Tower and Baynard Castle were built, the limits of the City having been in 1274 extended to Blackfriars, to enclose the Blackfriars Monastery, newly removed from Holborn, that community being especially in the royal favour as well as in that of the Lord Mayor.

In the course of erecting the new warehouses for Messrs. Pilkington, some oaken piles were encountered by pick and spade. These are probably identical in age with the "strong oaken piles" which Mr. Roach Smith tells us were used for the foundations of the Roman wall, only that the former, lately laid bare, must have been in the foundations of the Roman fortress, *Arx Palatina*. Upon the foundations belonging to the wall was a stratum of chalk and stones, and then a course of hewn sandstone from 3 to 4 ft. long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide.

Besides the transom of a window and the couple of most interesting corbels carved in low relief, to say nothing of a mysterious ship which reposes beneath the basement-floor of the new building, and by the side of which lay a clench-bolt, one of the objects which have been dug up is an old steelyard. There is only one perfect example of the Anglo-Roman steelyard in the British Museum, and that is but 6 in. in length. Even that was not found in London, but, I think, in Gloucestershire, in 1788, and presented by Mr. Lysons. When Mr. Roach Smith wrote his *Roman London*, an example of the *statera* or Roman steelyard, he distinctly states, had not been found in London. The instrument under notice, from the character of its incised ornamentation, the shape of the hook, and compactness of its make, in conjunction with the circumstance of its being found at a depth of 9 ft., in Upper Thames Street, is believed by the best authorities to be a relic of *Londinium's Anglo-Roman civilisation*. The most ancient instrument for weighing was the *libra*, resembling the scales of to-day, which forms the second sign of the zodiac. The *libra* was called the *bilanx*, or balance, from its having two *lances* or dishes suspended, one at each end, from a beam or lever (*jugum*); which beam, called the *jugum* from its resemblance to the yoke which connected the heads of a pair of oxen, was itself suspended by the middle, thus holding the two receptacles in equipoise.

But the *statera*, or Roman steelyard, of which the Gresham steelyard at the late Tudor Exhibition may be cited as a direct descendant, was an instrument of much later date than the *bilanx* or balance. It is called by Vitruvius (80 to 13 B.C.) the *trutina*; and since Vitruvius was highly esteemed of Julius Cæsar as an architect, it is well, perhaps, to know his description of its different constituent parts. The scale, or *lancula* (little dish), he says, hung from the handle or hook (*ansa*). On the other side of the centre from the scale was the beam (*scopus*), with the weight or equipoise (*æquipondium*), which was made to move along the points (*per puncta*) indicating the different weights.

The form and constituent parts of the Roman *statera*, as far, that is to say, as I can ascertain, do not, I am

sorry to say, tally with those of the compactly made instrument which is before us. But I have a simple if somewhat bold theory which would, I think, explain the apparent discrepancy, whether satisfactorily or not I do not pretend to say. This steelyard having been found on the site of one of Londinium's two palatine fortresses, and *not* on the site of a quay such as Queenhithe, encourages one to assume that it was used in a private capacity by the *cellarius* or other Roman functionary (I am unable to specify his title) whose duty it was to weigh the articles of food, etc., which entered the Castle for the consumption of those within. If it had to undergo the wear and tear of weighing the merchandise imported up the Thames commercially, the beam would surely not have been of wood.

The *statera* was after the accompanying design. The receptacle being of metal was called the *lanx*, after the large dish of silver or other metal which used to be placed upon the tables of the ancients,—sometimes a whole boar being brought to table : hence, possibly (to make a momentary digression), the phrase, “the whole hog”, expressive of monopoly or thoroughness. This *lanx* or dish would sometimes weigh from 100 to 150 pounds.

The circumstance of a steelyard being found in Upper Thames Street, however much one may desire to prove it to be of Roman origin, must not divert attention from the possibility of its being mediæval, especially as Mr. Sutton, the Superintendent of the works, who is himself a Devonshire man, and to whom is owing the preservation of this and the other relics, at the happy instigation of Messrs. Pilkington, says that there is a steelyard of similar construction in use at the present day in his county. He does not, however, remember having seen anything like the incised ornamentation.

On the assumption, therefore, of its being of later date than the Roman occupation, it becomes somewhat additionally interesting from being found near the actual “*King's Beam*”, or Weighing House,—in short, the *Steelyard*,—which stood in the immediate neighbourhood, a little east of Dowgate,—a site now occupied by the Cannon Street Railway and Hotel ; and their approaches. This Steelyard, which existed within the memory of the

present generation, derived its name, not from steel being sold in the "broad place", where it was weighed, but from the fact of merchandise being weighed in the king's stilliard or beam. The word itself, doubtless, originated from the beam being of steel, though that to which attention is directed was made of wood, as the fragments in the socket will show.

There is a steelyard from Caria in the Græco-Roman Department at the British Museum, about 3 ft. 4 in. long, English measure; the Roman measure, according to a foot-rule there displayed, being somewhat less than 12 ft., and over 11.

The *Steelyard*, the headquarters of London's later mediæval commerce, then (if it will not be deemed irrelevant to briefly pursue a subject suggested by one of the most interesting exhibits), was probably erected for or by the Hanse merchants, who obtained a settlement in London as early, it is said, as 1250.

The Easterling or Hanse merchants first made the Easterling silver pence (like the silver *denarii* of the Romans); hence our word "sterling". The coin was of the best value, and consequently the qualification "sterling" clung to it to distinguish it from silver that was less pure, the merchants themselves deriving their name from the circumstance of their coming from the eastern shores of Germany. The community of Hanse merchants comprised nearly seventy cities and towns of Germany, divided into districts, or regions as they were called, of Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic, the city of Lubeck being at the head of the whole confederacy. Sterling, it is worthy of remark, was of old pronounced "starling", just as Derby is pronounced "Darby", and Berkeley, "Barkley", now.

The site of Cannon Street Station was formerly the centre of London trade, which until the reign of Edward VI was monopolised by this Hanseatic League. On the representations of the then newly formed Company of Merchant Adventurers their privileges were annulled, after having had the trade of London more or less "under their thumbs" since 1250. The League was finally broken up by Queen Elizabeth. The only relics of their existence are the somewhat irritating memory of their ascendancy,

this possible Hanse steelyard, and the carved oak screen in the church of All Hallows the Great or "More", as Stow describes it. This screen was presented by the Hanse merchants "in memory of their former connection with this country." The church was formerly known as All Hallows-in-the-Ropery. Wheat, cables, ropes, linen, cloth, wainscots, wax, and steel, not to mention greybeards from the region of Cologne, were among the articles imported by these merchants.

A "Bellarmine" or "Greybeard" is among the objects which have been dug up. It is of superior make, and of the capacity of a quart or *pot*. The vulgar expression, "a pot of beer", is said to be directly descended from this Elizabethan beer-jug.

The importation of Bellarmines was probably greatest during the reign of Elizabeth, as Bellarmine's polemical contact with the Protestant world occurred, doubtless, *before* he was created Cardinal,—a dignity he did not receive until 1599, and the merchants of the Steelyard were expelled the country in 1597, though of course that did not interfere with the continued importation of these jugs. It would be an interesting study to ascertain at what periods of his career the caricatures of the Cardinal's visage, as they appear on the mask, were most grotesque; whether the masks were less hideous during the first ten years of James I's reign, in possible consideration of the Roman Catholic descent of the King on his mother's (Mary Stuart) side: at all events the masks, it seems, began to fall into disuse soon after Bellarmine's celebrated letter in the year 1610, in which he sought to detach English Roman Catholics from their allegiance to James; and James' rejoinder, whatever its tenour may have been, could not have appreciably fed the flames of religious animosity, since so soon after it was written, in 1610, the mask fell into desuetude.

But the two carved corbels are probably the most important finds made. The transom contradicts all the old engravings, in which the windows are represented as single lights; this being that of a double or two-light window, as faithfully described by Pennant. The corbels are both carved in low relief, one representing two nude wrestlers, and the other *a ram*. The ram is not

heraldic, and it can have no connection with commerce since it is totally different from Jason's golden fleece so frequently seen still. One would, then, naturally assume that it is the ram which the Roman or mediæval wrestler received, either a ram or a cock, as a reward for his dexterity when victor,—a custom probably introduced into England by the pagan Romans, and which is, perhaps, traceable to remote antiquity, the ram being the chief primitive object of sacrifice. But unfortunately this ram bears the aspect of being defunct,—a state which I presume was not that of the prize for which the ancient



CORBELS—BAYNARD CASTLE.

wrestlers contended. Chaucer says of the big and brawny miller, in the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*,—

“At wrastlynge he wolde bere away the ram”;

and again, in the *Rime of Sir Thopas*, it is said of the Knight,—

“Of wrastling was there none his pere,
There ony ram should stonde.”

And probably the *Ram Inn*, mentioned by Baxter as having existed in Smithfield in the reign of Charles I, was a memory of the time when the ram was contended for in what Fitz-Stephen calls the *Campus Planus*, or *Smoothfield* of mediæval London, and probably of *Roman* London.

Two remarkable details which characterise the wrestlers are that, in the first place, one holds in his hand what is probably (the blade being broken off) the handle of a *pugio*, an example of which may be seen in the Guildhall Museum; and in the second place, both wrestlers wear on their legs, between the knee and the thigh, a protection such as is to-day used to protect the shins at football. The wrestling of the Romans was more savage than that of the Greeks, of whom they learnt it. Smearing their bodies with grease or oil, they contended quite nude; every means of assault apparently, such as kicking and the use of the *pugio*, being allowable. It does not seem to be so long ago that kicking was a prominent feature of the Cornish and Devon style of wrestling. Mr. Sutton, the intelligent Superintendent of the Works, was himself a Devon wrestler, and has a deep scar on the shin, caused by a kick received under these vicious rules.

Not the least interesting feature of the excavations was the meeting with a black, manure-like stratum of substance about 2 ft. in thickness, and 17 ft. below the surface. What could this have been but the green rushes which were strewn upon the floor in the middle ages? Hence our word "straw", from *sterno*, *stratum*, to stretch out; straw being used in winter, and rushes in summer. This carpet of rushes received, in the bad, old, insanitary times, layer upon layer without the old being removed, and was thus allowed to accumulate and breed infectious diseases, among which was, doubtless, the Black Death; and this horrible accumulation of filth reeked, beneath the top fresh layer, with deposits of "beer, grease, fragments of victuals, and other organic matter", for which it was a receptacle. The scornful expression, "not worth a rush", comes down to us from the rush being so continually thus trodden under foot. Erasmus, writing to his friend Dr. Francis, physician to Cardinal Wolsey, speaks of the lowest layer of rushes (the top only being renewed) as remaining sometimes for twenty years!

The custom, however, had its attractive side, for the bruised roots, especially when they were of the sweet-scented flag (*Acorus calamus*), gave out a powerful and fragrant odour, resembling, it is said, that of the myrtle. This important factor in the domestic comfort of the me-

diaeval past, *i.e.*, this particular plant, became extinct, it is said, through being used too freely by the brewers under the name of quassia, and the yellow water-iris (*Iris pseudo acorus*) took its place. There has, however, been no necessity to strew the church floors, as was universally the case, with rushes in summer and straw in winter, since they were paved or flagged, as was generally the case after the Tudor period, and has been universally so since the Reformation. Is there a village church in the realm where the bare floor still exists? Grasmere Church is said to have had one as late as 1828.

How many of our countrymen who begin with the Spring to place ornaments more or less beautiful on their fire-stoves, know that the custom is so old as to have originated with the use of rushes for carpet? Yet so it is,—a custom directly descended from the time not so comparatively long ago, as the patched-up chimneys of old houses still existing here and there even in London will show, when the only escape for the smoke from the fire in the middle of the room was the opening in the roof called the “louvre”. The andirons or firedogs were removed, and the hearth gaily decorated with rushes or other evergreen plants on Easter Day. The black fireplace, the successor of the old hearthstone, not blending harmoniously with the green of the plants, or the want of air for the plants, was a consideration possibly which led to the use of green plants being abandoned for paper ornaments.

An acre of reeds on the banks of the river is said to have been as lucrative to the watermen as one of wheat to a farmer. An instance of the demand that there must have been for them is afforded if we consider the frequently recurring dedication-festivals of the various and numerous City churches at which special rejoicings called “Rush-bearings” were organised, when loads of rushes were carried in procession, and presented to the church; the wake terminating with dances round the Maypole and congenial sports, while the merriment was stimulated by “cakes and ale” provided reciprocally by the parish priest.

This joyous procession must often have passed Baynard’s Castle, through Upper Thames Street, then called

Stock-Fishmonger's Row, from the "stock" or Thames fish (when salmon was caught at London Bridge) which was sold in the market there. The rushes had, perhaps, been gathered in the marshy district of Thorney Island or Westminster, where they, no doubt, grew as green as the processionists could wish. The procession itself was flanked by men with whips, who maintained a continual whip-cracking to clear the way; much the same, perhaps, with the incessant whip-cracking which the Paris Jehu deems necessary to warn his fellow hospital-fillers and their victims of his reckless driving.

OBJECTS FOUND.

Tiles.—Old Norman, of the four-tile pattern; one with two birds back to back. There is a similar one, though having not nearly such a battered appearance, in the Geological Museum. Also marbled tile like the scagliola of to-day.

Two skulls, or fragments of; the larger with a large hole in the centre, found 6 ft. below the foundations, and 24 ft. beneath the level of Thames Street, beneath the trunk of an oak tree. The smaller fragment was found on the blue clay, 34 ft. beneath the level of Thames Street. A skull, presumably from its formation a woman's, but broken to pieces, and unfortunately *not* preserved, was found near the latter.

Dolphin, brass figure of, with monkey astride; ornamented metal hoop; boat-hook; were all three found together. A similar boat-hook is among the numerous antiquities of which the Rev. Canon Sparrow Simpson has lately so generously made the Corporation the recipient for their Museum.

Four spurs.—The oldest is apparently that with the short neck inclined downwards, having at its extremity a rowel with six finely pointed spikes which no longer revolve on their axis. The shanks come under the ankle. The two with longer, straight necks are both probably of Henry VI's time. One has the appearance of having been silvered, indicating its use by an esquire. The route which the mediæval knights took, from Tower Royal through Knight-riding Street and Giltspur Street, to the jousts in Smithfield, will call to mind the circumstance that a knight's spurs were always gilded. The remaining *portion of a spur* also has the appearance of having been silvered. From its shape it must have been either a Yorkist or Lancastrian spur, and has doubtless been in the Wars of the Roses.

Roman nail, broad, flat-headed.

Primitive peg-top,—not a whipping-top apparently. When taken out of the ground it was quite round and shapely, but shrunk immediately on exposure to the air. The nail which served as the peg does not suggest the probability of its being a Roman peg-top.

Fragment of short, pendent ear-pick.

Fragment of diminutive statera or steelyard Shoe.—Norman or Planta-

genet. The peak was stuffed, as in the example before us, with tow or hay or similar substance. An engraving in Marryat's *Pottery and Porcelain*, of a grotesquely fashioned mug, intended to represent a knight on horseback, affords an illustration of this shoe, and also of the Norman goad or prick-spur.

Needle-aglet.

Funnel.—Earthenware, green-glazed fragment with a kind of scaled surface, probably to make it rest more securely in the vessels with which it was used. I have brought a fragment of what I believe to be an earthenware funnel, of my own, to compare the two, as they are of similar form. I have not seen one preserved elsewhere; possibly they have, if ever found, been taken for mere fragments of pottery, and not worthy of preservation. There is a glass funnel in the Anglo-Roman Department of the British Museum.

Spear-head (spiculum haste).

Javelin or dart-head (spiculum pili).

Roman shears (forfex) used either for the hair or beard.

Wooden comb, Roman (pecten).

Bucket-handle.

Boss of shield, of light construction, probably belonging to a shield used for light sword-play, such as the buckler.

Puncturing implement; perhaps a carrier's tool.

Spindle-whorl, bone.

Roman chain for suspending a cauldron.

Large mussel-shell (Thames).

Ten knives of varying sizes; one for suspending at the girdle; also *girdle-buckle*. The knives are all from the fifteenth century upward. The best collection of knives, mostly found in the Fleet Ditch (I have Mr. Price's authority for saying), is in the Guildhall Museum. I should mention my indebtedness to Mr. Price in aiding me to identify several of the objects.

Norman jug, green glazed, as seen in old MSS.

Greybeard.

Clench-bolt.

Early English padlock.—The bolt, which passed down the hollow, and was fastened at the other end, where the aperture for a key is, is absent.

OBSERVATIONS ON EARTHWORKS AT ACTON,
MIDDLESEX.

BY H. SWAINSON COWPER, ESQ.

ABOUT a quarter of a mile to the north of Acton Station, on the Great Western Railway, on the road to Willesden, stands a substantial, modern farmhouse round which are clustered numerous outbuildings and sheds; some new and ugly, others old-fashioned and picturesque. Its general appearance is highly uninteresting; but a stranger of antiquarian propensities has but to glance into the yard to perceive that the place has been moated. Further examination will show him that the moat now encloses only two sides of the house; and if he afterwards consults a 25-inch Ordnance Sheet of the district, he will find that the name of the place he has just seen is "Friars' Place Farm", and that two fields in rear of the house there is marked a curious, oblong earthwork, with the words "Moat (remains of)"; the type used being that which the Ordnance Survey has selected for "Norman or subsequent" antiquities. It is chiefly to this moat that this notice refers.

This earthwork, camp, moat, or whatever it be, occupies a slight eminence about one-third of a mile behind the farm, from which the ground rises gently to it all the way. It rises gently from the Railway, which is due south of it, and although it is level for about 100 yards directly west, after that it is a gentle rise from a place called "Mason's Green", which is on a lane leading from the Uxbridge Road to Twyford. On the north, however, the ground is level; and about three-quarters of a mile to the north-west is a considerable eminence called "Hanger Hill." The field in which these remains lie is known as the "Moated Meadow."

The earthworks consist of a wide ditch containing a quadrangular, oblong enclosure, the east and west sides of which, although of different lengths, are nearly paral-

lel; and the north and south sides nearly the same length, but not parallel; the length of the north side being 235 ft.; the east, 136 ft.; the south, 240 ft.; and the west, 89 ft.

The ditch is 50 ft. wide, except on the north side, at the west end of which it is 60 ft., and at the east end 56 ft.; also at the south end of the east side, where it is only 41 ft. The ditch, therefore, is a little wider on the north side, where it is also deepest, being apparently about 6 ft. This is because this is the weakest side, having level ground outside, and rising ground further off. On the south, where there is most slope away,—although even there it is slight,—the ditch is very shallow and poorly developed, but of the usual width.

From the ditch some of the earth has been thrown outwards, forming a rampart on the summit of the counterscarp, now of slight elevation, and in most places about 15 ft. wide. It is hardly visible on the south side, where the ditch is also poorest; but, rather oddly, it is widest (21 ft.) on the east, where the slope off is nearly as great. This may be because it faces the public road. On the north side, and perhaps in other places, the summit of this bank is higher than the summit of the scarp.

The ward or court thus defended is almost level, but slightly uneven on the surface, possibly concealing foundations; at present, however, there is not an atom of masonry above ground (if such, indeed, ever existed), or even any hummocks or mounds of any importance. There are no causeways or other signs of entrances across the ditch.

At the north-east corner there are slight appearances of a rampart on the scarp, but it cannot be traced any further, so that in places the scarp is practically commanded by the counterscarp. If of earth, however, such a rampart would be very likely to get ploughed flat.

On probing with a sword-stick at a point about 33 ft. from the north side, and about 93 ft. from the east, a hard substance was felt about a foot beneath the surface, and apparently extending over some space. The feel of this was not unlike some sort of pavement.

The origin and antiquity of these works are obscure; but before consulting local history for information, let us

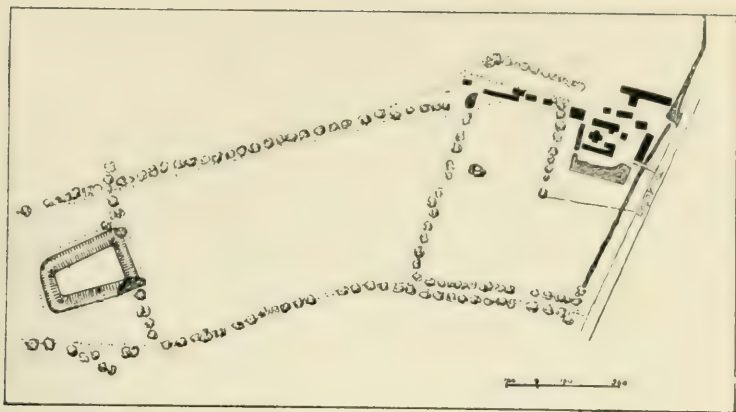
consider if the character of the remains themselves will afford any enlightenment.

It possesses no characteristic of a British camp. There can be no question about that. Is it, then, Roman? Roman stations were, of course, as a rule larger; but there were temporary camps, and both were quadrangular, and usually moated. Lysons, in the *Environs of London*, mentions the place,—“a deep trench enclosing a parallelogram (*sic*) supposed to have been a Roman camp; but the name of the meadow seems to intimate that it is the site of a moated house, of which there have been several in the neighbourhood, and some still remain.”

I am inclined to think Lysons is right, though I do not believe there is much to go upon in the name. But in the first place it is neither rectangular nor a parallelogram; and secondly (my knowledge of Roman camps is not great), its ditch is too wide. I do not suppose that all Roman camps were rectangular parallelograms; but it was a general rule, and I presume carried out, unless the configuration of the ground or other necessity ordered it otherwise; but here, in this smooth elevation, there could be no reason for not adhering to their usual plan. I believe, however, that no Roman camp of these dimensions would have a ditch 50 ft. wide. Again, the regular entrances are entirely absent.

It may be a Romano-British encampment. I have nothing to say against that, as my ignorance of Romano-British encampments is absolute. At the same time I may add the negative argument that I see no possible reason why it should be one.

Is it an English stronghold? Mr. G. T. Clark has explained to us all about the burhs or mottes, the moated mound of the Anglo-Saxon squire, and the appended base-court also moated; but here there is no mound of any shape or size. The same authority, I believe, tells us that the Saxons do not seem ever to have made their strongholds rectangular; but at Aldingham Moat, in Furness, a good specimen of an Anglo-Saxon moated mound, there is, about 200 yards north-east of the mound itself, a rectangular camp about 150 ft. square, surrounded by a wide ditch, which is certainly not Roman. Chancellor



FRIARS PLACE FARM and THE MOATED MEADOW ACTON



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- scale of feet -

Ferguson,¹ F.S.A., writing about this says, "I would further imagine that for shelter they (*i.e.*, the dwellers on the mound) removed their wooden house from that breezy situation to the square camp."

There is a certain resemblance between this square encampment and the subject of this notice. I have not measured the ditch at Aldingham, but according to the plan in Close's edition of West's *Antiquities of Furness*, it is very wide, even more so than at Acton. At Aldingham, too, there are no traces of buildings, or at any rate of masonry, within the ditch, and I believe none of causeways either. If these remains are of Saxon date, their entrances would probably be by wooden drawbridges, no trace of which would remain.

On the whole I think it will be found that the Saxons did occasionally, though, perhaps, not till shortly before the Conquest, construct square, or any rate quadrangular, entrenchments, and the Acton moat may be an example. As, however, I do not consider anything proved, I will ask one more question, Is it, as the Ordnance Survey authorities expansively put it,—is it Norman or subsequent? The authorities in question undoubtedly thought so when they surveyed Acton, as they marked it in that type; and I am certainly not prepared to disprove it.

The "Norman or subsequent" people made all sorts of mounds and strongholds, and amongst them they made square ditches. Still I am inclined to doubt if ditches of this width were often constructed round strongholds of the limited size of this. We may see our way, indeed, when a little further on we examine the history of Acton in early times, to believe it possible that our moat was occasionally inhabited, though I do not think constructed by an English monarch, namely Henry III.

About a third of a mile to the west, on the high-road from Acton to Willesden, is the moated house already mentioned, called "Friars' Place Farm." In the plan accompanying this paper it will be seen that only part of the ditch itself remains. One portion of it will be noticed to appear almost as wide as the ditch we have

¹ *Two Moated Mounds, Liddell and Aldingham*, by Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmoreland Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix.

just been discussing. Whether this is correct or not I do not know ; I have not had an opportunity of measuring it ; but it is here correctly reduced from the 25-inch Ordnance Map. The other moat is drawn to scale from a plan made by personal survey. It is possible that this wide corner is a modern enlargement.

History.—Acton is a Saxon name (the town among the oak-trees), as picturesque a name as the village itself undoubtedly was in former days; even now, on the north side of the parish, where the district is still semi-rural, many fine oaks may yet be seen in the hedge-rows. It is not mentioned in *Domesday*; but later on it seems that there were two manors here, the boundaries of which are not, I think, now known.

Mr. Walford, in *Greater London*, says, "The district now known as Acton, along with Ealing, became part of the great manor of Fulham, and was granted or probably regranted to the see of London." This was the principal manor ; but of the other Lysons tells us, "Peter, son of Alulph, granted to Geoffrey de Lucy, Dean of St. Paul's (1231-41), his mansion at Acton under the wood, with the garden and grove adjoining, and 20 acres of arable land held of the King by knight's service." The Dean then granted the said premises, together with other land which he had purchased, to the Chapter, making certain reservations; and afterwards the Chapter leased all this, their manor of Acton, with the mansion-house, etc., back to the Dean, and ordained that it should be held of the Chapter by his successors in the Deanery. In 1544 they granted it to the King, who gave it to John Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal. It afterwards passed through the hands of Russel, Somerset, Letheuelliers, etc.

Mr. Walford considers that this second manor may have consisted of the Berrymede and Friars' Place estates. The latter, I think, could hardly have been part of it, as will afterwards appear. May not East Acton, which is still a distinct village, have formed this second manor ? This is only supposition.

Henry III (1216-72) had here a mansion or palace to which he often retired.¹

Lysons also enumerates other estates, amongst which

¹ *Speculum Britannie*.

“Adam de Hervynton gave a carucate and a half of land, seven acres of meadow, sixty of pasture, and forty of wood, held under the Bishop of London as of his manor of Stortford, to the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, to pray for his good estate whilst living, and to celebrate his obit after death”; also “John Chishull, William Stoteville, and John Harpesfield (47th Edward III), gave one toft, one hundred and sixteen acres of arable land, five acres of meadow, and six acres of wood, to the said Convent,” etc. Lysons adds, “I suppose the site of this estate to have been at or near the hamlet called Friars’ or Priors’ Place.” This is probably so; but the moated house called Friars’ Place Farm is the ancient site, as old maps show, and not the big, modern brick house just on the south side of the Railway, which now bears the name, and which is at the present time for sale, to be cut up into building plots.

Whether the Prior of St. Bartholomew ever founded a small, subordinate house here, or it remained as a simple grange of the Convent, is not, I think, known. I believe there is no record of such being the case.

The site of Henry III’s mansion or palace is not ascertained; but no one, I believe, has suggested that it was at the “Moated Meadow.” If, however, this was, as I have supposed possible, a Saxon residence, it is not unlikely that the same place might be used by the English monarch as a hunting-seat, being in easy proximity to London. It would be, most probably, only a wooden house similar to its Saxon predecessor, and in no sense a castle or palace. Acton is never afterwards, I believe, mentioned as a royal residence, so that the place would be suffered to go to decay without ever having borne masonry upon it.

In conclusion I would suggest that excavations here would be of interest and value; and possibly they might overthrow the theorising which has here been, perhaps somewhat rashly, put forward. Excavations carefully carried out would, I think, undoubtedly lay aside all doubt as to the origin and antiquity of these works. This is the more important as the place is situated on the outskirts of a thriving suburban building estate which extends on the opposite side of the Rail-

way, and streets have also already crept down the hill to the south, and reach close to the Farm, so that almost any day the whole estate may come into the market as building plots. When this takes place the fate of the "Moated Meadow" is sealed, and sooner or later it will be cut through by roads, the moat itself will be filled up with hard core; and lastly, it will be built upon, and Acton will know its one remaining vestige of antiquity no more.

Note.—Since this account was written a very similar moat, close to Willesden Junction, has been filled up, and partly or wholly obliterated.

GOKEWELL NUNNERY.

BY EDWARD PEACOCK, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read 2 April 1890.)

EVERY student of our ecclesiastical antiquities must have noticed with pain how very little information the *Monasticon* contains relative to the religious houses for women which were scattered over the land before the changes in the sixteenth century. This is the more to be regretted as we have good reason for believing that at the time when Dugdale and Dodsworth made those invaluable collections which are embodied in the *Monasticon* there existed in private hands many records relating to English nunneries which have perished during the chances and changes of upwards of two centuries.

The Nunnery of Gokewell is an example of this. The *Monasticon*, though not silent, contains but little about it; and modern research, which has not been wanting, has not added much. Two charters relating to its early days are now, or were recently, in existence. Little else is known concerning it. If its muniments were not destroyed at the Reformation, we may hope that they are still preserved among the muniments of its present possessor, the Earl of Yarborough; but I have no reason to believe that this is so, except the analogy which naturally occurs to us between this and other religious houses, where we know that the mediæval title-deeds were handed over to the new possessors.

Gokewell is a place so little known that it has often been assumed that the Nunnery was situate at the village of Goxhill, a station on the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, not far from the Humber. This is, however, undoubtedly a mistake, though an excusable one, as all the monastic buildings have long been swept away. We believe that the late Mr. William Smith Haselden was the first person who demonstrated that the spot where this religious house was situate was at a place a little to the west of the village of Broughton.

If a traveller follows the Ermine Street for about four and twenty miles in a northern direction, he will arrive at Broughton, a village notable for its curious church tower, which is certainly Norman, and may be in part much older. Should he turn off at that point in a westerly direction, down a private road through the woods, he will soon find himself on the ridge of that long line of hills known as "The Cliffs", which runs from the Humber to Lincoln. Below him he will see, in the far distance, the Isle of Axholme and the trees surrounding Epworth Churchyard, the burial-place of Samuel, the father of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. Nearer at hand, on the eastern side of the Trent, may be seen the Lincolnshire Ironfield with its many tall chimneys, and almost at his feet a farmhouse which occupies the site of the Nunnery of Gokewell. The place still goes by its old name, and within recent years fragments of columns (Transition,—Norman and Early English) have been turned up. Nothing, however, remains above ground to indicate that the place was once devoted to pious uses, where twelve generations of holy women have spent their lives.

With regard to the derivation of the great majority of place-names in Lincolnshire there is still much controversy, and it is only rash or ignorant persons who will speak with assurance. As to the meaning of Gokewell there can be no reasonable difference of opinion. The mode of spelling has, of course, varied from time to time. We have met with Gokell, Gaukevel, Goykewell, and Gowkeswell, and there are other variants which have escaped our memory. These forms point clearly to the fact that the place took its name from the old word, "gowk", a cuckoo. This word, no doubt, comes from the bird's cry. It is widely distributed in various forms. In Anglo-Saxon *gæc* and *geac*, German *rukuk*, Dutch *roekock*, Italian *cucco*, *cucullo*, Persian *roku*, Swedish *goek*, Norwegian *gouk*.¹ Gowk is still a well known popular name in this part of Lincolnshire. The cuckoo, as the harbinger of spring, has always been a favourite bird with us,

¹ Charles Swainson, *Folk-Lore of British Birds*, p. 109, 1886. In Eugene Roland's *Faune Populaire de la France*, tome ii, p. 82, many local French names are given.

and the boy or girl who first hears its cry feels that he has good hope of happiness for the ensuing year.

“ We loved
The sound of one another’s voices more
Than the grey cuckoo loves his name”,

is a rendering into verse of the feeling many of us must have had. The call and answer of the cuckoo, as it may yet be heard in springtide at Gokewell, inspires the fancy that the nuns may have chosen this place as the site for their home on account of the note of these birds. This is made more probable from the fact that the earliest charters yet discovered do not contain the name by which the house was afterwards known.

The foundation-charter of the house has not hitherto come to light; but it seems clear that this Nunnery was in existence in 1185; and it is probable, though not certain, that its founder was William de Alta Ripa, a member of a race powerful in Lincolnshire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In 1853 the late Rev. F. Pyndar Lowe communicated to the Lincolnshire Architectural Society four charters which had come into the possession of Mr. Heselden. By the first of these documents William Paganellus grants and confirms to the nuns in Mannebi, in free alms, the place where they dwell, and all the lands which William de Alta Ripa and his son Anthony had given to them, as their charters bear witness. He, moreover, gives on his own account certain lands of his own “*de territorio de Bertonie usque ad Scalehau*”, with pasture for their animals (that is, horses and cows), and for “*quingentis ovibus nominatum*”, as also a mill that had been held by Rodbert, the son of the priest,—“*fili presbyteri*”.

It must not escape notice that the name Gokewell, in any of its various spellings, does not occur here, though as Mannebi is spoken of, no reasonable person can call in question that Manby, the old seat of the Andersons, a hamlet in the Marsh of Broughton, is the place indicated. Mr. Lowe thought that Bertonie meant Broughton. This interpretation, though by no means free from difficulties, is probably correct. Scalehow cannot, however, be Scawby. There cannot be any doubt that Scalehaw indicates one

of the barrow-like, wind-blown sand-hills in that neighbourhood.

In the second charter we find the donor called William Painel. It relates to the same properties, but is somewhat more elaborate. Among the boundaries are mentioned Langhausne and Santun. There are two farms in the immediate neighbourhood which still go by the name of High and Low Santon. Right of "*focalia et opertorea*", granted on the petition of his wife, Fredesent, means what we Lincolnshire folk call "graving" of turves and cutting brushwood; perhaps it also includes the right of digging bog-timber in the moors around. The name of Gokewell does not occur in this document. These religious women are called the nuns of "*Eskadal*", which probably means the dale among the ash-trees.

The third document is a confirmation of the preceding by King Henry II. Their dwelling is spoken of as "*in territorio de Mannebi*". It is undated, but the names of the witnesses show that it was executed about 1174.

The fourth charter is a confirmation by Adam, son of Adam Painel, of the grants of William Painel, whom Adam calls "*avunculus meus*".

From the time when these charters were compiled until that of the dissolution of the religious houses, hardly anything has as yet come to light concerning the inmates of this house. When the monasteries fell there were but six religious living at Gokewell. To mourn over the fall of these quiet retreats would be quite out of place here. More than three hundred years must have passed away since the last of the sisters was laid "beneath the churchyard mould". Times were terrible in the days when they lived. It is not to be wondered at that no record has come down to us of the last days of Gokewell Nunnery.

In the 13th of Henry VIII the domain of Gokewell passed into the hands of Sir William Tyrwhitt, a great Lincolnshire landowner, who was enormously enriched by the fall of the religious houses. We are sorry to say that we are not at present able to tell who succeeded the Tyrwhitts in possession of the Gokewell domain. In the beginning of the seventeenth century it belonged to the Andersons of Manby, with whom it has continued ever

since. In 1696 Abraham de la Pryme, the antiquary, visited the place, and has left on record that it seemed to have once been "a most stately place". He was shown a little well, called "Nuns' Well", "which was once very great and famous". This was probably the Well of the Cuckoos, from which the place took its name. But a very small part of the old buildings remained; only one room, as it would seem, in his days.

Although there is nothing to be seen, it is probable that judicious excavations might bring to light much that is interesting; not improbably the tombs of the founder and others who

"Lov'd the church so well, and gave so largely to 't.
They thought it should have canopied their bones
Till Doomsday; but all things have their end,—
Churches and cities, which have diseases like to men,
Must have like death that we have."¹

¹ Webster, *Duchess of Malji*, Act v, Sc. iii; Dyce's ed., 1857, p. 97.

NOTES ON THE SEAL OF THE DEAN OF NEWBURY, 1452.

BY WALTER MONEY, ESQ., F.S.A.

(*Read 19th March 1890.*)

THE Warden and Fellows of St. Mary's College at Winchester have for many centuries possessed property in Newbury, and consequently have a large number of ancient deeds and documents relating thereto, which are still carefully preserved in the muniment room. Among these is an instrument (imperfect) under seal of the parson of Welford, dated 26 March, 30 Henry VI (1452), and confirmed by the official seal of the *Dean of Newbury*.

The term, as here used, appears to apply to rural or urban dean, formerly an ecclesiastical person who had a district of ten churches or parishes, either in the country or city, within which he exercised jurisdiction. These rural deans were sometimes called *archi-presbyteri*, and at first they were, both in order and authority, above the archdeacons. They were at first elected by the clergy, and by their votes deposed; but afterwards they were appointed and removed at the discretion of the bishop, and hence they were called *decani temporarii*, to distinguish them from the cathedral deans, who were called *decani perpetui*. They seem to have been deputies of the bishop, stationed round his diocese, the better to inspect the conduct of the parochial clergy, to inquire into and report dilapidations, and to examine the candidates for confirmation, and therefore armed with an inferior degree of judicial and coercive authority. And by special delegation they had occasionally committed to them the probate of wills and granting administration of the goods of persons intestate, the custody of vacant benefices, and granting institutions and inductions, and sometimes the decisions of testamentary causes and matrimonial causes, and matters of divorce; of which there appear some footsteps in one of the legatine constitutions of Cardinal Otho at a Council held in London in

1237, by which it is enjoined that the dean rural shall not thereafter intermeddle with the cognizance of matrimonial causes ; and by another constitution of the same Legate he is commanded to have an *authentic seal* ; all which shows that anciently there was somewhat of jurisdiction entrusted with them. And before their declining state they were sometimes made a sort of *chorepiscopi* or *rural bishops*, being commissioned by the diocesan to exercise episcopal jurisdiction, for the profits whereof they paid an annual rent. But as the primitive *chorepiscopi* had their authority restrained by some Councils, and their office by degrees abolished, so this delegation of the like privileges to rural deans, as a burden and scandal to the Church, was inhibited by Pope Alexander III and the Council of Trent.

The fine oval seal, which is attached by a slip cut from the bottom of the deed, bears the figure of a bishop habited in his vestments,—an alb, tunic, chasuble, and mitre, holding a pastoral staff with the *vexillum*. He is standing under a canopy with his right hand raised in the act of benediction. The legend is SIGILLV DECANI DECA[NA-T]VS D' NEVBIRY. It will be observed that the engraver made a mistake in engraving the seal by omitting the T in his contraction of *decanatus*, which he appears to have afterwards added. The two LL's in SIGILLV, conjoined, is curious ; and it will be noticed that the bishop has a very large nose and ear.



The official importance of this Dean of Newbury is evident from the character of the seal then considered appropriate to his rank, and which became necessary for the ratification of the legal instruments required in the administration of his official jurisdiction, owing to the prevalence of forgeries and the absence of public notaries in England. As the office was not perpetual, rural deans and officials, whose appointments were temporary, had only the name of their office engraved upon their seals, which they were to resign at the expiration of their tenure to him by whom they had been commissioned.

We have no documentary evidence to show who was the Dean or Rural Dean of Newbury in 1452; but the then Rector was Robert Langrish, chaplain, who was admitted in 1418, on the presentation of the Prior and Convent of the Carthusian Order at Witham, in Selwood, co. Somerset, who were patrons for this turn by a grant from the King. Langrish held the rectory until his death in 1454.

The Bishop of Sarum, in which diocese Newbury remained until the year 1836, at the date of the execution of the deed to which the seal is attached, was Richard Beauchamp, a native of Wells, and a brother of Lord St. Amand.

CREAKE, NORFOLK : ITS ABBEY AND CHURCHES.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(*Read 4 Dec. 1889.*)

THAT portion of the county of Norfolk which may be generally termed Creake consists of the parishes of North and South Creake, "which take their name", says Blomefield, "from a small river or creake which runs through both parishes." This stream is now called the Beck, a term given to small streams in the northern counties of England and also in Sweden, being identical with the Scottish "Burn".

In North Creake are the ruins of Creake Abbey. South Creake village is six miles north of Fakenham, its post-town, and railway-station. North Creake village is one mile north of South Creake. A recent visit to the Vicar of South Creake has given me the opportunity of collecting some original information respecting this district, which, with the aid of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* and other authorities, has developed into this paper.

Beginning with Creake Abbey, we find from Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* that in the year 1206 there was a church founded in a place called Lingerscroft, containing about 400 acres of ling or heath, lying between Creake and Burnham, in the meadows, and called from thence "St. Mary de Pratis" by Sir Robert de Nereford, who married Alice, daughter and coheir of John Ponchard, son of Sir William Ponchard; which 400 acres Philip de Candois, of Burnham, gave in perpetual alms to the monks of Castleacre in the time of King Stephen; and afterwards Roger, Prior of Castleacre, and the Convent, enfeoffed the said Sir William of the same.

In the reign of Henry II there was Mass said in the said church; but Sir Robert Hereford being Constable of Dover Castle, under Herbert de Burgh, Chief Justice of England, and obtaining a victory at sea over the French (designing to invade England), with the consent of Alice

his wife, built a chapel to St. Bartholomew, with a hospital for thirteen poor lay brethren, and four chaplains, and a master or head. William de Geyst, with the consent of his patroness Alice, being the first chaplain, took upon him a canonical habit, with his brethren, and was called Prior of St. Mary de Pratis, by Creak, by whom the aforesaid land was "manred" in their own hands and proper costs; and the said chapel and hospital were dedicated, A.D. 1221, by Jeffrey de Burgh, Bishop of Ely (nephew of the said Alice, and brother of Herbert de Burgh), suffragan to Pandolf, Bishop of Norwich, the Pope's Legate. After this the Lady Alice settled the advowson of this Priory on King Henry III in fee, who made it an Abbey, and confirmed his liberties, Oct. 26, in his fifteenth year.

It appears by the will of Sir William Calthorp of Burnham Thorp, dated May 31, in the 10th Henry VII (A.D. 1494), that many of his ancestors were here buried in a chapel; and he appoints that all the goods of Dame Sybill Boys should be employed towards making the choir, the presbytery, and repairing this Abbey, and gives £74 for that purpose. He also gives directions to be buried in Whitefriars, Norwich, "where the place of my sepulture is made, Friar Thomas Waterpipe to sing 3 years for my sowle, and my friends and my wives, at the awter where my sepulture is"; and after the Gospel to say openly, at the end of every Mass, "De Profundis", and to have six marks a year.

It appears from Bishop Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* (published in 1787) that this Monastery was usually styled "Abbatia S. Mariæ de Pratis inter Creak et Burnham Thorp", and that about the twenty-second year of King Henry VII it was looked upon as dissolved, because the Abbot died without a Convent to elect another; whereupon the lands and revenues, by the procurement of that King's mother, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, were settled upon Christ's College in Cambridge, being of her foundation. The original grant of the Abbey lands by the Countess of Richmond to the College, dated 5 Feb. 1507, and a deed of confirmation by Henry VII, dated 24th Henry VII (1509), are in the British Museum. They are included in a series of char-

ters relating to Flixton Nunnery, and are numbered as Stowe Charters, 291-381.

This agrees with the information given by Dr. Cartmel, the Master of the College, to Mr. Riley on his applying for information for the Historical MSS. Commission. He found thirty-seven early documents and charters of Creake Abbey, which came into the possession of the College with the grant of the Abbey by the Countess of Richmond. The Master could not allow inspection without a meeting of the Master and Fellows, which could not be held before October. No further attempt to obtain inspection appears to have been made.

The ruins of this Abbey lie about half a mile on the east of the high road from Creake to Burnham Thorpe, and consist principally of the remains of the Abbey Church (of thirteenth century work), intermixed with a farm-homestead retaining much of its original aspect, which gave it the special designation, "de Pratis."

NORTH CREAK.

North Creak was at the time of the *Domesday Survey* a member of the hundred of Gallow. Roger Bigot, ancestor to the Earl of Norfolk of that name, was lord of it, and Turstan, son of Guido, held under him four carucates of land which Kochaga possessed in the reign of the Confessor.

Blomfield says it is probable that Turstan was ancestor of the family of the De Crekes, who were lords of this town, and took their name from it. Sir Robert de Creke, son of Bartholomew, succeeded his father herein, who held eight fees of the old feoffment, in the reign of Henry II, of Rober Bigot, father of Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk.

In the 9th Edward I (1281), John de Creke was lord, and had then, by letters patent dated at Shuldham, Norfolk, Jan. 18, to him and his heirs, the grant of a weekly market here on Tuesday, and a yearly fair on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Michael.

Sir John de Creke died about the eleventh of the aforesaid King (1283), leaving Sarah, his sister, wife of Roger

Fitz-Peter Fitz-Osbert, his heir ; and she dying without issue about the twentieth of the same reign (1292), Roger, her husband, held it by the courtesy of England ; on whose death, in the thirty-fourth of the said reign, this lordship was found to be held by one fee of the Earl of Norfolk, valued at £40.

In the 39th Elizabeth (1597), William Armiger and Anne his wife, sister and heir of Richard Mansure, settled their manor of Thorpe Hall, in North Creake, on William Miles and Mansure Armiger. From the Armigers it came to Sarah, relict of John Duke of Marlborough, who left it to her favourite grandson, the Hon. John Spencer, who was the father of the first Earl Spencer, the lineal ancestor of the present Earl, who is patron of the living of St. Mary's, North Creake, alternately with the Master and Fellows of Christ Church College, Cambridge.

The site of Thorpe Hall is now Mr. Parker's farmhouse, on the borders of South Creake, which is still called "The Hall Farm", on the walls enclosing which may still be seen the letters G. A. (Gabriel Armiger).

Besides the manor of Creake, Blomefield mentions the following manors as part of North Creake,—Walsingham Priory manor ; Earl Warren's manor, or Calthorp's ; and the Earl of Clare's manor ; and there was another manor of North Creake, on the part of the Bishop, which has been extinguished.

Earl Warren's manor, or Calthorp's, came to Sir Walter Calthorp by the marriage of Cecilia, daughter and heir of Sir Hervey de Stanhow, who was lord in the reign of Henry III ; and in 5th Edward III, William de Calthorp was lord. Sir Bartholomew de Calthorp held in the said reign here and in Burnham Thorpe half a fee which Roger Fitz-Peter formerly held of the Earl of Warren. From the Calthorps it came to the Harsieks of Southacre by marriage. In 1625 Mr. William Vowell was lord of Calthorp's manor in North Creake, and held it as tenant to Christ's College in Cambridge. In the reign of King Edward I, when Sir John de Creyk was lord and patron, there was also another church, called St. Michael in the Mount, in which there was service only once a week. It was parochial, had a right of baptism, and was said to be the most ancient church. This church has disappeared.

By Chancery proceedings instituted by Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich, during the incumbency of Richard Vowell, the Rector of St. Michael, who died in 1550, it appears that William Vowell, the Rector's brother, who lived in the Abbey by Creak, and farmer of it, did, by the allowance of his brother Richard, the parson, pull off and carry away the lead of the said church, and defaced the church, whereby the next farmer of the same, viz., Francis Brampton, gent., entitled himself to the said ruins, and as lord of the Abbey granted to Thomas White the Chapel of St. Michael, to hold by the rod, as a copyhold tenement, to the disinherison of the Bishop, patron of the same, at least *alterius vicibus*.

At Docking, about six miles from South Creak, there is an old font in the possession of a farmer's wife, named Burgis, who before her marriage lived with her father, a farmer, at North Creak. My nephew, Mr. Arthur Compton, lately saw this font at Docking, and has given me the following description of it: "It is octagonal, every other face being plain, the alternate ones having a sculptured device. It has no stem or base, but it is cemented to a stone figure from the waist upwards. It has a canopy over it. Until a few years ago this font was used as a drinking-trough in a farmyard at North Creak, and the image, thrown down on its face, served as a door-step. Mrs. Burgis has set up the font and figure as an ornamental flower-pot in her garden, and she refuses to part with them for love or money. It is supposed in the neighbourhood to have come from Creak Abbey." May it not be the font of the Church of St. Michael in the Mount, which it is stated was parochial, and had a right of baptism?

The present Rector of North Creak is the Rev. John Nassau Simpkinson. He has held the living since 1868, and is an Associate of our Society. In the year 1877 he restored the chancel of his church at his own expense, and has supplied me with a description of the church, which I give in his own words:—

"The Church of St. Mary at North Creak was originally of the Decorated style, but converted, in great part, into Perpendicular in the latter years of the fifteenth century by one of the influential family of Calthorpe,

whose identity has not been satisfactorily ascertained. The oldest part of the church is the chancel, which preserves, in great measure, its Decorated character. A note made on the fly-leaf of the ancient Register (the entries of which go back to 1538), apparently about the time of the Restoration, preserves the exact date of the edifice, 1301. 'In the second pane', it says, 'of the east window, counting from the north, is the inscription, "William Carelton construxit hunc cancellum anno Dom. M^oCCC^o I^o." He is pictured kneeling (it continues), his beard and head shaven, in blew gowne with wide sleeves, faced with white, & a redd sleeve underneath.' All traces of this have disappeared.

"To this early date belong the east window and the two Decorated windows on the north side. The two *grouped* Decorated windows on the south side are probably somewhat later, as is probably the case with the richly ornamented sedilia, and more certainly the Easter sepulchre on the north side (almost a facsimile of that of Stanton St. John's, Oxon., figured in Parker's *Glossary*), and also the sacristy with its beautiful little windows. This conclusion is confirmed by the remains of a splay exactly corresponding with the two remaining north windows, and indicating a third window, which was sacrificed to make room for the Easter sepulchre.

"In the centre of the chancel is a monumental brass, the legend of which, with name, date, etc., have been unfortunately destroyed; but there can scarcely be a doubt that it is a memorial of the Calthorpe (Sir John ?) who remodelled the whole church, a descendant of the Sir William Calthorpe whose more beautiful brass, in perfect condition, remains in the church of Burnham Thorpe. Sir John speaks of himself, in his will, as having *rebuilt* the church of North Creake about A.D. 1490, and the brass in question bears the effigy of a man in civil dress, holding in his arms, as an offering to God, a church with tower, nave, and chancel, complete; while at his feet is described the distich,—

" "Quisquis eris qui transieris sta perlege plora
Sum quod eram nec eram quod sum pro me precor ora."

A distich which is not unfrequently found in brasses,

and which was repeated (or rather anticipated), with a slight difference, in the Thorpe brass. Several observers have pointed out what certainly seems a tonsure on the head of the figure ; but circumstances point so conclusively to Sir John, that we may regard the seeming tonsure as produced by accidental wear.

“The assertion of Sir John in his will, that he had rebuilt the church, is almost literally correct, so far as the nave is concerned. The arcade is probably the original one of the Decorated period, though very plain ; but all the windows and upper structure of the building are of Perpendicular work. What Sir John did was to raise the original walls, adding a clerestory, and putting on a low-pitched, oaken, hammer-beam roof, with angels on the beams, and richly coloured, with moulded rafters, perlines, and ornamented with bosses and smaller angels. The angels on the hammer-beams have all lost their wings, being unable to muster (like South Creak) some five or six specimens ; but, on the other hand, the general colouring and the details of the roof, especially the cornice with its six or eight tiers of coloured enrichment, is in much better preservation than that of South Creak.

“The north aisle is mean and roughly constructed, with nothing noteworthy to point out except that the east end of it has been screened off to mark the chantry belonging to Creak Abbey. A south aisle never existed, as is proved by the decorated south doorway of the building, and by a decorated sepulchre at the usual place for founders’ tombs, on the south side.

“Instead of a south aisle, the renovator of the building placed in the south wall large windows, opposite the arches of the arcade ; and above these, in the same wall, clerestory windows answering to those on the north. This arrangement, though peculiar, is not unpleasing, especially on the outside of the church, where the tall and massive buttresses in the interspaces combine very well with the double tier of windows in the buttressed wall.

“The roof of the chancel, which is still more ornate than that of the nave, was evidently placed there contemporaneously, or soon after, the original pitch of the roof being indicated by the weather-mark on the gable

of the nave. Like the other, it is a hammer-beam roof with angels clothed in white (seven on each side), and holding, like those in the nave, emblems of the Passion, or else red-cross shields. But these angels, unlike the others, are all of a male character; some of them are bearded. Between and above these hammer-beams, and among the rafter-feet, are twelve small figures about 2 ft. high, bearing scrolls in their hands. The scrolls had lost their original inscriptions; and, indeed, there is reason to think that the chancel, unlike the nave, had undergone some painting since the roof was put on, and that the inscriptions had in this way been obliterated. One, however, remained untouched, which happily gave the clue to all, for that inscription was, 'Inde venturus est'; and no doubt, therefore, can remain that the figures were the twelve Apostles carrying in Latin the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed.

"The interest in this peculiar characteristic of the church is greatly enhanced by the fact that North Creake was the home of the childhood, youth, and early manhood of Bishop Pearson,¹ whose father was Rector here, and lies buried in the churchyard.

"In the year 1877 the chancel was carefully restored by Mr. Preedy, the architect, under the supervision, and at the cost of, the then and present Rector, Rev. J. N. Simpkinson. The roof was giving way, and in parts much disfigured by shapeless repairs; and the north windows, with their tracery broken, were blocked up with bricks and stone and plaster. It was necessary, therefore, to take off the roof for repairs. Some of the principals, and many of the rafters, etc., proved to be sufficiently sound

¹ "There is a difference between some writers as to the birthplace of Bishop Pearson. Gough's ed. of *Cumden*, vol. ii, p. 113 (1789), says, 'At Snoring or Creke, whereof his father was Rector; was born, 1612, John Pearson, Bishop of Chester, who died 1636,'—a mistake for 1686. Other writers have stated his birthplace, some to be North Creake, and others at Great Snoring. It appears that the Rev. Robert Pearson, the father of the Bishop, held both the livings of North Creake and Great Snoring. Blomefield (vol. vii, p. 94) says, 'Robert Pearson occurs Rector (of North Creake) in 1607; buried in 1639. He was Archdeacon of Suffolk, and died 31 January 1639. The following is the entry of his death in the Register of North Creake,—'Robertus Pearson sacre theologie professor archidiaconus et hujus Ecclesie Rector sepultus fuit ultimo die Januarii 1639.'"

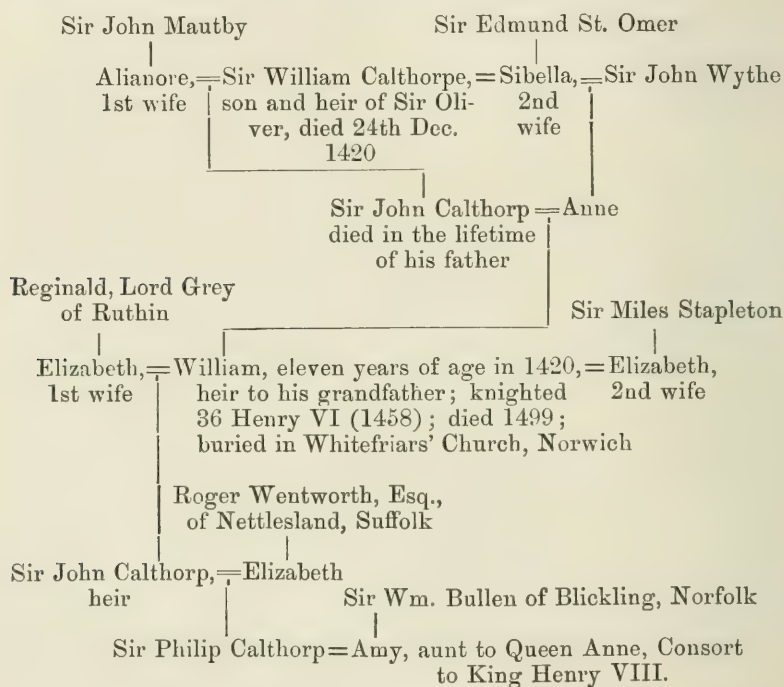
to go up again, including one whole truss, the centre one. Part of the roof was found to be of deal; notably the only piece of cornice that remained, and which being of Jacobean style, incongruous with the rest, was discarded without regret, as unworthy both in design and in material. A fresh cornice, suggested by that of the nave, was carried throughout, this being the only new part of the renovated roof. In other respects, not only were all the parts replaced, but the original colouring was followed,—red, green, yellow, white, black, and oak, with a little extra embellishment over the sanctuary. Below the cornice an arcade of wall-braces springs from the wall-posts, which last are shaped into canopied niches supported by stone corbels, and in which originally stood another series of figures on a larger scale. Of these (fourteen in number) six only remain,—all of them over the sanctuary; two of them evidently being St. Matthew and St. John the Evangelist, and a third (the easternmost) a female figure. It is allowable to conjecture, therefore, that the series consisted of the twelve Apostles again (only specifically represented), and the Virgin Mary, with St. Joseph.

“In the sacristy (now the vestry) two points not yet observed are worthy of note,—(1), that the west pinnacle was constructed originally as a smoke-turret, the priest having his warm corner, with charcoal fire, below; (2), that four panels of the old rood-screen have been preserved out of its ruins, and converted into doors of a vestment-press; the figures painted on them being St. Veronica and three of the ancient cardinal virtues, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude.”

The Registers of Great Snoring and North Creake show that Robert Pearson was appointed Rector of Great Snoring in 1610, and that the Registers for that year to 1614 are lost. In North Creake the Registers are perfect for the years 1612 and 1613; but there is no entry of John Pearson's baptism, the conclusion being that he was born and baptized at Great Snoring, as it was then customary to baptize infants in the parishes where they were born. Be this as it may, John Pearson must have spent much of his early days at North Creake, and it may be fairly conjectured that the impression on his

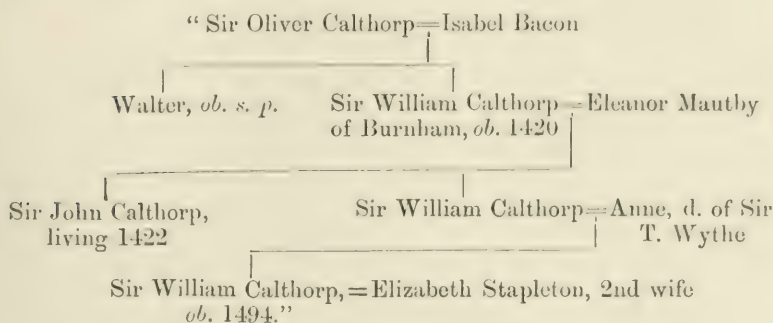
youthful mind by his acquaintance with the emblems of the articles of the Creed in that church, may have suggested the work which he afterwards wrote on that subject, and which still remains one of the greatest theological works in the English language.

There appears to be doubt who the refounder of this church was. Mr. Simpkinson takes him to be John, son of Sir William Calthorpe whose brass is in Burnham Thorpe Church, who died in 1420. This does not agree with Blomefield, who gives an account of the Calthorpes, from which I have drawn the following pedigree :—



On sending this pedigree to Mr. Simpkinson he sent me part of a correspondence between himself, the Rev. James Lee Warner, and Mr. Matthew Bloxam, in 1878. Mr. Lee Warner attacks Blomefield's accuracy, and adds : "Therefore my first step was to draw up my Calthorp pedigree from Blomefield as it stood, errors included, and then to compare it and test it in every available way as opportunity might offer. In the course of inquiry I came

across the pedigree of Le Neve (or rather a copy of it at Quebec Dereham), which runs thus :—



On comparing these two pedigrees it will be seen that so far as the lineal descendants of Sir William Calthorp, who died at Burnham Thorpe in 1420, are concerned, the only difference is that Blomefield makes Sir John Calthorp marry Ann Wythe, and die in his father's lifetime, leaving a son William, who died in 1494, and was buried at Whitefriars, Norwich, while Mr. Lee Warner makes Sir John Calthorp the eldest son of Sir William Calthorp of Burnham, living in 1442, who would, therefore, have survived his father; and Sir William, second son of Sir William of Burnham, instead of Sir John Calthorp, to have been married to Ann Wythe.

If Mr. Lee Warner is right, it is most probable that Sir John Calthorp (son of Sir William), who, he says, was living in 1422, and who, as eldest son, would be heir in tail of the manor of Calthorp and the advowson of North Creak, was the second founder of North Creak Church; but as to this I have not been able to obtain any corroborative evidence. If, however, the pedigree from Blomefield be correct, Sir John Calthorp, the son of the first Sir William, died in his father's lifetime, *i.e.*, before 1420, and the next Sir John was the great-grandson of this Sir William, whose son, Sir Philip Calthorp, married Amy, daughter of Sir William Bullen of Blickling, aunt to Queen Anne, consort to King Henry VIII.

In the Visitation of Norfolk, taken A.D. 1563 and 1613,¹ there is a pedigree of the Calthorps which confirms

¹ Harl. MS. 1552, fo. 228b, British Museum.

Blomefield's statement that Sir John Calthorp married Ann Wythe,¹ and that Sir William, who died in 1494, was their son, and grandson (not son) of Sir William Calthorp who died in 1420. This pedigree also gives the issue of Sir William Calthorp by his second wife, Elizabeth Stapleton, viz., Edward Calthorp; Francis Calthorp, who married Elizabeth, daughter of John Wyndham; and John Calthorp of Cockthorp, who married a daughter of Erminglond. No dates are given.

I have searched at Somerset House for a will of Sir John Calthorp. It is not there; it must, therefore, be in the Norwich Registry. The only will of the Calthorps at Somerset House (from the earliest date to the commencement of the sixteenth century) is that of the Sir William who died in 1494. I have inspected the copy of this will in the Registry. It contains the bequests before mentioned, but does not devise his landed estates, which were by the then law incapable of being the subject of devise.

Another letter was from our late lamented Vice-President, Matthew Bloxam, to Mr. Lee Warner, dated 31st August 1878, and relates to the Calthorp brass in North Creak Church. He says:—

“It is mentioned in Boutell, who describes it thus: ‘*Circa 1490, civilian (unknown), founder of North Creak, Norfolk.*’ By Haines, in his list, it is described (erroneously) thus: ‘A priest (?), *circa 1500, with church arm.*’ It is engraved in Cotman's *Brasses, Norfolk*, plate 41, and the following is the account he gives:—‘This brass, though not noticed in the *History of Norfolk*, is interesting inasmuch as it is like none that I meet with elsewhere in Norfolk, or in the volumes of Gough. It represents a founder, or one who had contributed very largely towards rebuilding some place dedicated to religion. To his girdle are attached his purse and his string of beads, at one end of which is his seal. The canopy points to some year near 1500. I would at once attribute the effigy to Sir William Calthorp of Burnham Thorpe, but that he is represented as buried in White Friars' Church in Norwich. He died in 1494.’

¹ Burke, in his *History of Commoners*, vol. iv, p. 307, adopts this statement.

“It is not at all improbable that at the dissolution of the monasteries, in the subsequent reign, any memorial of his should be removed by his grandson into this church. The epitaph is entirely gone, so I have referred to the last edition (in eight volumes, folio) of Dugdale’s *Monasticon*, and to Blomefield’s *Norfolk*; but I can find nothing of note in either.

“Independently of the descriptions I have given of others, I will now give you my own description.

“Beneath a triple canopy is the incised brass effigy of a civilian. He is represented bare-headed, in a long side-gown, the skirts of which reach to the feet, with wide sleeves. Round the waist is a plain girdle. Attached to the girdle, in front of the body, but somewhat on the right side, is the gipsire or purse; whilst on the left side, suspended from the girdle, is a *par precum*, or set of beads, and a seal. The hands are uplifted, and slightly conjoined, as if in prayer. Over the shoulders, and in front of the breast, appears the tippet, fastened by a button on the right side. Over the right arm is the representation of a church consisting of tower, nave, and chancel.

“The commemorative inscription once round the ledge is gone, but on the brass just below the effigy is an inscription not at all uncommon in the fifteenth century, and which, though abbreviated, would read as follows: ‘*Quisquis eris qui transieris, sta, perlege, plora. Sum quod eram, nec eram quod sum, pro me precor ora.*’ The second line I do not exactly understand, as in most similar inscriptions this line runs as follows, ‘*Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es*’

“I should attribute this effigy to the last decade of the fifteenth century. It was not unusual, on the suppression of monasteries and demolition of the church, to remove monuments to other churches.”

SOUTH CREAKE.

Part of this town was a “berewite”, in the reign of the Conqueror, to Harold’s lordship of Fakenham. After the battle of Hastings, wherein he, being King of England, was slain, the Conqueror took possession of it, consisting

of two carucates of land, ten villeins, eleven bordarers, etc.; one carucate in demesne, and three amongst the men, and half an acre of meadow, etc.; eighty sheep and four socmen, with a carucate and six acres; and this was valued in the Manor of Fakenham.

According to Blomefield the parish of South Creake includes Beaufoe's Manor, Creake Abbey Manor, Rees Manor, and Castleacre Priory Manor. Beaufoe's Manor remained in the Crown till King Henry I granted it to Ralph de Beaufoe, to be held by the service of half a knight's fee.

The church was a rectory, valued in 1428 at eighty-five marks. Ralph, son of Ralph de Beaufoe, gave it (27 Henry II), with all its tithes, lands, and homages, to Castleacre Priory, for the soul's health of King Henry I, who brought him up, and that of his lord, King Henry II, his grandson, with the meadow at Barsham and his wood at Stibberd.

Thomas de Beaufoe confirmed (29 Henry II) all his right therein, for the souls of the said Kings and his father Ralph. In the reign of King Henry III, Gilbert de Beaufoe (reciting that there had been a controversy between him and the monks of Castleacre about the said church) resigned all his right by the Bishop's advice, and sealed them a deed thereof. In 17 Edward II (1324) the Abbot and Convent of Creake quitclaimed all their right in the advowson. At the Dissolution, Thomas Prior of Castleacre, and the Convent (in Michaelmas term, 27 Henry VIII), conveyed it to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, with the appropriated rectory and the patronage of the vicarage of the church.

By an inquisition taken Oct. 23, 14 Charles I, Henry Beke, gent., was found to die, Aug. 31, 1638, possessed of this manor and impropriation, held of the lordship of Beaufoes in soccage.

Roses Manor, Earl Warren's lordships in North Creake, and Burnham Thorpe, extended into this town. On 3rd April, 26 Henry VIII (1535), Edward Calthorp, of Kirby Cane in Norfolk, Esq., and Thomasine his wife, sold the Manor of Roses, which Mrs. Elizabeth Calthorp, widow of William Calthorp, Esq., held for life, with the reversion of all the land held by her, to John Pepys of South

Creake, merchant. She was daughter of Ralph Berney of Redham. The advowson of the vicarage belonged to the Pepys family from 1557 to 1617.

In the list of vicars given by Blomefield, James Goodall appears as presented by Lord Townsend, patron, in 1739, in whose family the advowson has remained until the present time.

Camden, after describing Walsingham, says: "Towards the sea-side are cast up, all along, little hills, which were, doubtless, the burying-places of the Danes and Saxons upon their engagements in these parts. That this must have been a scene of war between the Danes and Saxons, for in the fields near Creake there is a large Saxon fortification, and the way that goes from it is to this day called 'Bloodgate', as a mark of the dismal slaughter. Hereabouts is also great plenty of the herb *Ebulum*, which the inhabitants call 'Danes' Blood', as if it were the product of their blood spilt here."

Shortly before my visit to South Creake an interesting confirmation of this statement of Camden was made by a villager living in a cottage near the Bloodgate, which still retains its name. Whilst digging in his garden he came upon a large quantity of human skulls and bones. He covered them over, and when I saw him he declined to re-open the ground.¹

From inquiry in the village I find that there is no herb known as "Danes' Blood" among the villagers. The Saxon fortification remains in a field near the Bloodgate, but owing to its being cultivated as arable land the traces of earthworks are gradually disappearing.

In the early part of the year 1881 the Rev. J. Bowman, the then Vicar, obtained a Report on the condition of the church from Mr. John D. Sedding of Charlotte Street, Bedford Square, with a view of obtaining funds for its preservation. This Report embodies a very able account of the church, which, with the permission of the Vicar and Mr. Sedding, I will give in the latter gentleman's own words, expressing, as they do, true archæological feeling.

¹ It has since been opened. Nothing but bones was found, and it is supposed that at one time it formed part of the churchyard.

“South Creake Church is a notable structure even in a district rich with fine churches. It has, moreover, to the architect and archæologist this further point of interest, that since its first erection it has been considerably altered, yet not so altered as to obliterate the earlier and later chapters of its history ; indeed, I scarcely know any church which within the same limited range of time reveals the same variety of design as this, and hence its value to the architectural student as presenting types of the various epochs of mediæval art in close succession.

“From the existing relics we find that the present church was begun in the middle of the thirteenth century. The main walls of the chancel are of that period, although much of the work of this date has been destroyed by subsequent alterations ; and that it was intended from the first to have a church of the present fine proportions is indicated from the fact that from the east wall of the church to the chancel-arch (both of which date from the thirteenth century) we have a chancel 52 ft. long, internal measurement.

“Of the original plan of the nave we have no evidence. From knowledge of the usual methods of the earlier workmen we may safely surmise that it was much narrower than that which now exists, which dates from the second half of the fourteenth century.

“With regard to the changeable character of the building and its details, I would venture to suggest that it is quite possible, from paucity of stone or other reason, the erection of the building proceeded at so slow a pace that the developed taste and skill of the workmen dictated these rapid changes as the building progressed. It will be seen that if the thirteenth century nave was completed, it was wholly destroyed in the fourteenth century. But, as I say, the thirteenth century nave may have been only partially erected when the growing feeling for spacious churches led the builders to abandon the first thought, and to start again with a loftier scheme. And this suggestion as to the possible languishing of the building operations may give the clue to the natural way in which the various styles and phases of the styles represented are blended throughout the church.

“The east window of the chancel, the three low but-

tresses at the east end, the credence, the side-door, and the chancel-arch, are of coincident date, about 1250. Next come the two westernmost windows on either side of the chancel, which would date from about 1300 ; later on, about 1360, we have the fine nave-arcade, the tower, and the east and west end windows of the aisles ; later still, the Perpendicular side-windows of the aisles, the added large clerestory windows, and roofs of nave and aisles, from about 1400 ; and last of all, in point of date, the porch tacked on to the south aisle, and the vestry on the north side of the chancel.

“ In the masonry of the east wall of the chancel, the pitch of the first roof is plainly discernible ; also that on the east wall of the tower is the weathering for the fourteenth century roof. Can this church, then, have had three new nave-roofs in one hundred and fifty years ?

“ The old chancel-roof has been entirely removed, and another modern roof takes its place. The present roof is an ugly concern, whose one merit is the timber of which it is composed. This modern roof is of the same pitch as the fifteenth century coping of the east wall, and the design is so far based upon the roof which it replaces that we are able to guess the number of the rafters and the general features of the old roof.

“ The nave-roof is one of *the* roofs of Norfolk. It has fine, boldly arched principals and hammer-beams which take the shape of angels, the mouldings above the angels being enriched similarly to the wall-plate cornice, and the spandrels filled with tracery. The principals are of two orders, larger and smaller ; the larger are on a line with the nave-piers, and are carried down the wall by resting on stone corbels. Further interest is given to the effect by arched braces facing the wall, which connect the main principals, and form outer arches to clerestory-windows. The arches have traceried spandrels. The angels forming hammer-beams are finely carved. They bear in their hands various devices on shields, such as the instruments of Our Lord's Passion, musical instruments, Prince of Wales' plume, coats of arms, etc. Unfortunately the angel-figures are scarcely presentable, as much of their beauty and effect of line were dependent on wings, conspicuous by their absence. Only one angel

retains both his wings, two have two wings between them, and the rest have none.

“More than this, the effect of this magnificent piece of mediæval carpentry is marred by the loss of its proper enrichments, of which only fragments remain; the carved brattishing to the wall-plate cornice has nearly all disappeared, while eleven of the spandrels on the south side and seven on the north have lost their tracery.

“The western bay of the north aisle roof is gone, and has been reproduced in deal.

“The south aisle roof, like that of the north aisle, is a beautiful specimen of Norfolk work, with finely moulded principal-ribs, and carved or traceried spandrels in the arched braces. The carvings on the south aisle roof represent heraldic devices,—a heron and other birds and animals. Bosses remain to this roof; these are well carved. Three of the spandrels are gone.

“Many of the ancient seats remain; these are mostly in the two main blocks of the nave; the carved ends are towards the nave-passage only. Some of the present seats were placed in the church in 1662. The chancel-seats, on the south side, are mainly the old seats much ruined by modern restoration.

“The font is very fine.¹ The ancient chancel-screen and pulpit are in existence. The latter contains its old painting to some extent, and very beautiful it is. Several brasses remain.

“There are many important remains of stained glass; the best are in the north aisle and in the clerestory. May I venture to beg that there may be no attempt to ‘make up’ a window out of a hash of these remains? These are valuable at present, but would be worthless as a medley.”

The following brasses are in the church:—

1. On a gravestone in the nave is the brass to the memory of John Norton. He is shown between a male figure on his right, and the matrix on the stone on the left, where another brass was, but has disappeared. Haines, in his *Manual of Brasses*, thus describes the central figure: “In cassock, plain albe, almuce, and cope,

¹ It is octagonal, and contains sculptures of the Crucifixion and the Seven Sacraments, similar to the font in Walsingham Church; but they are much defaced.

with pastoral staff. Effigies of his parents, Richard Norton and his wife Christine. (Eff. lost.) England, *c.* 1470 (?). The inscription is :—

“Orate p aīab’ Joh’is Norton cl’ici filii Ricardi Norton & Xpine consortis sue qui quidem Joh’is obiit Vicessimo tercio die mensis octobris Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Nono.”

Mr. J. Mill Stephenson, who has lately been appointed Honorary Secretary to the Surrey Archæological Society, has favoured me with some observations on this brass, which are worthy of notice. He says :—

“A very curious brass. Firstly, the effigies of the parents are in the costume of thirty or forty years previous to the date on the brass. Secondly, brasses of ecclesiastics with their parents are uncommon. A similar instance to this occurs at Radwell, Herts., to the memory of Thomas Whiteaker, ‘capellanus’, 1492, and his parents, William and Johanna Whiteaker; another at Luton, Beds., to Hugh atte Spetyll, and wife Alice, and their son John, a priest, *c.* 1425; at Milton, Suffolk, name unknown, a civilian and lady, and a priest in academics, *c.* 1430 (engraved in Cotman’s *Suffolk Brasses*, pl. xiii, p. 11).

“As regards the vestments of John Norton. That he was an abbot or prior is clear from the fact of his having the pastoral staff. He is robed in a cassock, a plain alb or (?) a surplice with tight sleeves, an almuce, and cope. These, except the alb (?), are the processional vestments.¹

“At Dorchester, Oxon., remains a similar figure. It is vested in cassock, surplice, almuce, and *plain cope* (or more probably the dark cloak and hood of the Order from which they got their name of Black Canons), with hood. Under the right arm is a pastoral staff. It is to the memory of Richard Bewforest, *c.* 1510. He is known to have been a Prior of the Austin Canons at Dorchester, Oxon.”

2. A brass in the west end of the nave, to the memory of a priest, *c.* 1400. Half-effigy in processional vestments, in surplice, almuce, and cope. Inscription and two shields lost. This is most probably the same as is described by

¹ When this paper was read, a rubbing from this brass was exhibited. Doubts were expressed whether John Norton was an ecclesiastic.

Blomefield as a brass in the nave with the following inscription :—

“Hic Jacet Joh'us Felbrigg clericus nuper pybendarius de Wherwell et persona Eccl'ie de Coltershale 9 obt. 1417.”

3. A shield in the nave ; date, *c.* 1600. The arms on the shield are those of Whetley of South Creake, impaling Pepys of South Creake, emblazoned as follows,—*or*, a bend *sa.* between two bears rampant of the second, muzzled, lined, and ringed *or* ; for Whetley of South Creake, Norfolk, impaling *sa.* on a bend *or* between two nags' heads erased *ar.*, three fleurs-de-lys of the first ; the bend further charged with a crescent for difference, for Pepys of South Creake, Norfolk.

The Registers commence in 1538, and are in good preservation. The following is a copy of a memorandum written in the inside of the binding of the Register :—

“Memorandum, Sept. 5, 1878.

“In 1853, when the church of this parish was reseated, and the walls scraped, two very old shields which had hung from time immemorial on the north wall, near the door, were taken down, and found so thoroughly wormeaten and decayed that it was impossible to replace them. Their popular name was ‘Lady Margaret's Stays.’ They were supposed (?) to be Saxon. They were made of wood, and had each thick skin bands inside ; one for the arm, the other for the hand. Their shape appears to have been somewhat according to the diagram ; the breadth being about 18 in., and the length about 3 ft.

“For the above particulars I am indebted to Mr. Seppings of Wormesgay, near Lynn, who was churchwarden at the time of their removal.

“(Signed) J. BOWMAN, Vicar.”

The chalice and paten are of the pattern common in Norwich churches in the sixteenth century. The chalice bears the date of 1567. The paten has a coat of arms on the base, containing, with other quarterings, the arms of Pepys.

ON A CONCRETE CAUSEWAY,
SUPPOSED TO BE ROMAN,
AT LINCOLN.

BY MICHAEL DRURY, ESQ.

(*Read 5th Feb. 1890.*)

THE Sewer Construction Works at Lincoln, in 1877 and 1878, exposed many sections of the greatest archæological interest, of which I fear but few memoranda have been recorded. In all parts of the city the trenches disclosed layers of made soil to depths varying to as much as 20 ft., the undoubted result of human agency; testifying to the lengthy continuance of man's occupancy of the site, and providing inexhaustible themes for study and speculation.

This paper, in the first place, purposes to describe an excavation (at A 12 on accompanying plan of Lincoln) about 12 ft. deep in High Street, near St. Botolph's Church, in which a peculiar looking bed of concrete, about 30 ft. below the surface, attracted my attention. The following measurements describe the section, viz., 15 in. of Macadamised road-surface; 15 in. of rough, stony soil; 8 in. of concrete; 15 in. of rough, stony soil; 3 in. of charcoal-ashes; 9 in. of peaty mud; and about 7 ft. of clean river-sand. All above the peaty mud is evidently the result of human action. From my local knowledge of the levels and of the relative position of adjacent *Norman* buildings, I was well assured that the bed of concrete was pre-Norman, and probably of Roman origin.

Subsequently, in other parts of High Street, the trenches exposed several longitudinal sections of concrete, varying in thickness from extreme tenuity to fully 5 ft., conclusively proving that it had been a continuous construction; in fact, a concreted causeway extending below the modern road of approach, and marked 12, across the Valley Gullet, at the least a mile in length. Its texture was extremely hard, very white in colour, and, so far as

I could judge, formed of finely broken stone, gravel, and chalky lime, without intermixture of broken tiles or of burnt clay. I think it is reasonable to assume that the purpose of its construction was to give a dryshod passage, avoiding the Valley waters.

The result of its formation would naturally be a sedimentary deposit on each side ; but I think this natural process was actively accelerated by a filling up of made soil and rubbish, and very quickly a large border was reclaimed from the watery waste on both sides, for *in* and *upon* this reclaimed land are found Roman memorial-stones and tessellated pavements.

This causeway and the reclaimed land constitute the actual site of Lincoln "Down Hill." Before its construction it is clear that the Valley Gullet was occupied by a wide-spreading stream, almost certainly tidal, of which the river-sand referred to in the before-mentioned section formed the bed.

I am disposed to maintain that the 27 in. of made soil between the sand-bed and the concrete are the remains of a rude causeway (which would render the waterway fordable at low water) of pre-Roman date. This narrow Gullet was the most convenient passage for the traffic by the Saltway,—from the sea-coast salt-marshes near Fulstow, by Ludborough, Ludford, to Lincoln, and thence by this Gullet to the Fosseway and the centre of England.

Before the construction of this concreted causeway I would venture to suggest that the Lincoln Fen district was a sea-flooded continuation of the Wash, and that the low-lying district west of Lincoln was also a lagoon through which the Trent waters flowed ; and there is little doubt that the Romans, deviating in this case from their invariable rule, started the Roman street to Doncaster known as Tillbridge Lane,—not direct from Lincoln, but five miles north from Ermine Street,—so as to evade this lagoon or pool, which extended northwards as far as Sturton (or Street Town) by Stow. With these wide-spreading waters on each side of the Lincoln site, the importance of the narrow Gullet for traffic purposes is self-evident.

The Roman remains within the walls of the original *castrum* are, for the most part, well known to archæolo-

gists, but those outside the walls are comparatively unknown. The plan of Lincoln herewith accompanying indicates all the Roman remains so far as I am acquainted with them; but this paper only refers to those outside the walls. The line of Rock Cliff, above which the first *castrum* was situated, is marked by the dotted line, 20*, and can be clearly defined at the present time. It marks the extent of valley erosion and the junction between the blue lias-clay and the overlying limestone rock. The cliff-face is now concealed by an accumulation of *débris*, but it is *there* still, for during the formation of works at Lindum Terrace (at xx), the weather-worn face, fully 15 ft. high, was disclosed, with a well-marked pathway on the clay skirting the rock-base, and showing undoubted traces of camping fires of persons sheltering under the lee of the rock.

The first extension of the city was parallel with the south wall, at a distance of only 250 ft., the south-east angle coinciding with the cliff at that point. The new south wall was, therefore, built on the clay slope,—a most treacherous foundation,—of solid concrete, 15 ft. in thickness, and probably was fully 40 ft. high. This remarkably massive and costly work must have been an enlargement of the *castrum*, necessitated by the exigencies of the military garrison. Another wall, 4 ft. thick, runs parallel with, and 9 ft. within this wall. The space enclosed was filled in with stony rubble soil up to the level (or nearly so) of the south gate, and is the site of the Palace ruins, St. Michael's Church, etc.

The second, or what may be termed the civic extension was bounded on the south by an embankment (which I have seen at 6 and 7) of immensely large stones, built about 6 ft. thick, west of, and in line with, the Stone Bow, about 1,500 ft. south of the first extension, enclosing about 750 ft. of the foreshore (shown by the dotted line [21] of its north edge) of the Estuary or Valley Gullet, and about 750 ft. of the steep clay slope. The 750 ft. of foreshore was filled in with rubbish, in some places 20 ft. in thickness or depth, and thus reclaimed for building purposes. Within the enclosed space Roman remains have been disclosed as follows, viz.,—

1. Tessellated pavement, 18 in. below present surface.

2. Figure found in digging foundations of the School of Art, in made soil,¹ about 6 ft. below existing surface, as if rudely cast down or carelessly buried.

2A. Two massive stones moulded on two faces, very similar to a gateway plinth-jamb, at 10 ft. deep, in made soil.

3. Roman wall recently disclosed, buried about 10 ft. below present surface.

4. Altar dedication-stone found, 14 ft. deep, lying on sandy bed of the Estuary, as if it had been cast into the midst of the waters.

5. Several Roman fragments; one a pillar-base moulded on four faces, and apparently *in situ*, lying about 12 ft. below surface.

6. Wall, 6 ft. thick, built of very large stones, exposed to view in foundation of house.

7. Ditto of chapel.

8. Wall, about 4 ft. thick, of small stones. Might be mediæval.

9. Wall about 6 ft. thick, but of small stones.

10. Continuation of the said wall.²

It is extremely probable that the Concreted Causeway, the special subject of this paper, indicated on the plan, was constructed contemporaneously with the embankment-wall (6 and 7). On the consequent reclaimed land are Roman remains as follow, viz. :—

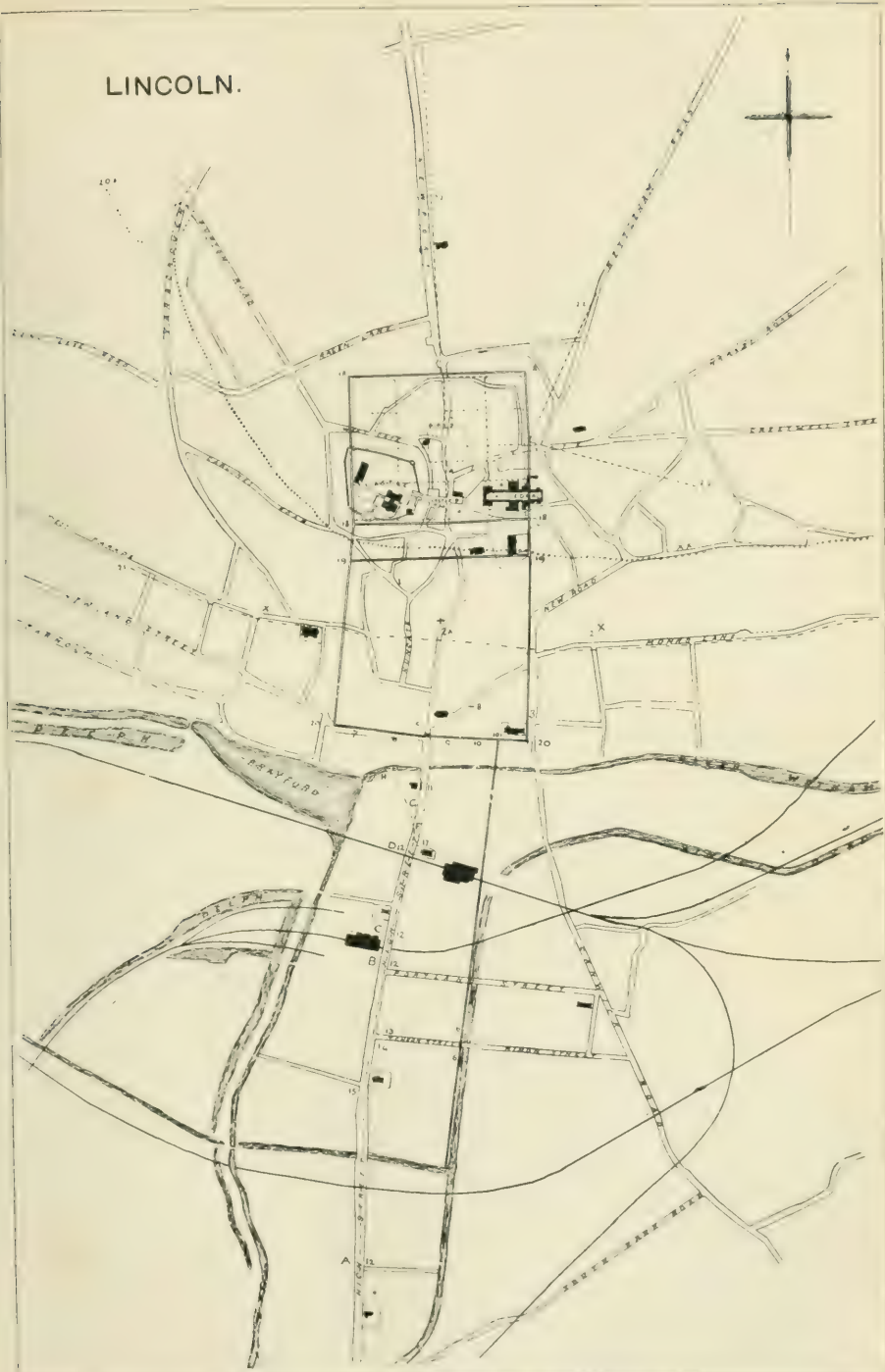
11. A wall about 4 ft. thick, of large-sized stones, seemed to separate made soil on the west from muddy, sedimentary deposit on the east. Amongst the muddy deposit were numerous piles of rough tree-trunks, about 8 ft. long, standing upright; the tops about 8 ft. below extending surface: which piles, I venture to surmise, were lake-dwelling supports.

12. The Concreted Causeway exposed and measured

¹ This spot is *outside* the enclosed space; but in all probability the figure 2 and altar-stone (4) were carried away from their proper position, and cast aside; perhaps to preserve them from indignity, or, as is more likely, in ruthless disdain.

² The section of Roman wall shown on the right hand margin of the large, well-known Map of Lincoln by J. S. Padley (1842), has been noticed by me once only, very cursorily; and I can state nothing certain of it, but that I judged it to be Norman work. This is shown on the Map in question, close to 16.

LINCOLN.



at A, B, C, D, as shown by the accompanying illustration. It was also seen by me at F and at G, where it was very thin in the concrete substance. Some years ago I noted the river-bottom at H. It was a mass of concrete about 25 ft. wide, with muddy soil on each side.

13. Tessellated pavement found here at about the same level as the surface of Concrete Causeway.

14. A Roman memorial-stone. Several have been found on the line of the Causeway. Perhaps it was a local "Via Sacra."

15. A confused collection of extremely large stones, having the appearance of a mason's stoneyard.

16. The only spots of this wall which have come under my own personal cognizance.

17. The Roman memorial-stone built in the tower of St. Mary-le-Wigford Church was probably exhumed in digging the foundations.

There are other suggestive subjects for consideration in connection with this Gullet, viz., 1, as to the relative position of Roman and Norman remains; 2, conformation of valley, especially in relation to its sandy beds and levels; 3, as to lake-dwellings therein; and 4, as to the extreme probability that not only the Trent but the Yorkshire Ouse used to reach the sea by this route instead of by the Humber; all of which would be outside the purpose of this paper.

NOTES.

The diagrams of sections of the Causeway exhibited when the above paper was read, showed the following details. The preparation of these records must have involved considerable labour to the author, whose death, after very brief illness, followed very soon after the reading of the paper. The results of Mr. Drury's researches are now thus placed upon record. The "made soil" is what is described as rough, stony soil in the text.

At A, as already noted, there was found, first, a depth of 15 in. of Macadam, followed by 15 in. of made soil, 8 in. only of concrete, 26 in. of made soil below it, and then 18 ft. deep of river-sand resting on clay of a depth not ascertained.

At B, the Macadam was 9 in. thick, above 3 ft. of made soil, below which were 5 ft. deep of concrete, 3 ft. 3 in. of made soil, and then sand, about 20 ft. deep, resting on clay.

At C, the Macadam, made soil, and concrete, were as at B; but the made soil below the concrete was a little deeper, and the river-sand was about 23 ft. deep.

At D, the Macadam and first-made soil were also the same, with a depth of concrete of 2 ft. only, then a depth of about 9 ft. of made soil, resting on about 30 ft. of river-sand.

The layers of peaty mud and charcoal were not shown on the diagrams, nor was the width of the Causeway anywhere given. Perhaps it was not ascertained owing to its not being revealed by the nature of the drainage works. It will be noticed that at all the points where the ancient work was observed, the mode of construction was the same, although the depths varied.

The square marked 18 at its four angles indicates the original area of the enclosure, the dotted lines indicating the supposed lines of streets, and the dots (*) the positions where Roman remains have actually been found *in situ*, but of which Mr. Drury has given no further notice.

The first extension of the area of the city is marked 19, 19, and the large further increase is marked 20, 20.

The dotted line (20*, 20*) indicates the junction of the cliff-precipice with the clay-slope, and the dotted line (21, 21) the boundary of the north shore of the former estuary. At X, X, a thin, red, sandy edge is to be met with 10 ft. below the existing surface in each case; and at + the depth is 18 ft.

The courses of some of the Roman roads leaving *Lindum*, on the north and east, are shown by the dotted lines, 22, 22, 22.

For the purposes of identification, the churches and other public buildings are shown in position on the plan in block.

See the *Journal* for 1879, vol. xxxv, for a paper by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew on "Recent Discoveries at *Colonia Lindum*," containing engravings of the tessellated pavement found near Exchequer Gate, and the column-bases of the Roman Basilica, painting on walls, etc.

W. DE G. B.
E. P. L. B.

NOTES OF EXCAVATIONS MADE AT WALL BY THE LATE COLONEL BAGNELL.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

(Read 16 May 1888.)

IN the autumn of last year, on the occasion of the visit of the Archaeological Society to Wolverhampton, some excavations were made on a part of the site of *Eloectum*, in a field to the west of the church called "The Butts", and in which some small portion of Roman masonry and concrete, made of stones and mortar, can be seen above the surface.

The excavations were carried on in the lower part of the above named field. Several chambers were discovered, about 6 ft. square; and on removing the rubbish which filled up the space between the walls, and which was about 4 or 5 ft. deep, a large quantity of roof-tiles and common pottery—some blue, some red, and some whitish yellow—were found; one piece with letters on; some with lines on; also a brick,—one fragment with *p.s.* on it; on others the marks of thumb and two fingers; also bones of the deer, ox, and pig.

At the bottom of each chamber was a layer of charcoal and fragments of Bangor slate, many being perforated with holes to admit the nails which fastened them to the rafters and beams, now reduced by fire to charcoal. With these slates a great number of the above-named iron nails were found. Some circular earthen pipes, similar to the modern drain-pipes, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, were also discovered. Possibly these foundations were the ruins of baths. The mortar used here is made of lime from Walsall.

The excavations were continued subsequently higher up in the same field, where many other walls were found, which appeared to be the position of a large number of small apartments of about the same dimensions as those before referred to were found. Here articles of the same description as those before referred to were found: but in addition the excavator came upon a small silver orna-

ment and two copper articles, the lesser of which appeared to be a buckle,¹ and the smaller possibly a brooch. These were from a distance of about 3 ft. 6 in. below the surface; but I am doubtful whether they are Roman. Near these were found the lower part of the leg-bone of a cock, with the strong natural spur remaining, and also piece of the antler of a deer.

In the lower part of the bath, near the hedge, to the south-west, on digging in the bank, a large worked stone was brought to light, having a hole in the middle, where a hinge might work, and cut away at one of its angles as if to receive a gate or door. I think this must have once supported such a structure. Close to this there was also a pavement of common pebbles or boulder-stones, which I considered had once been a road. Near to the spot a large quantity of plaster with stripes of red, brown, and green colour upon it, and also many shells of oysters and snails, were dug up. Oysters and snails, it is well known, were used by the Romans as food.

There is a tradition that from this field of "The Butts" there is a subterranean passage or tunnel which led to Castlecroft, near to the residence of Mr. Line; and it is stated that at the time the road, which goes up past Mr. Line's house, was lowered, the tunnel was discovered; but although the spot was pointed out where it was reported to have been opened, I have not been able to find it, although the search was carried on for several days with great diligence.

In Castlecroft, which lies to the east of "The Butts", are the remains of a stone wall about 11 ft. in thickness; in some parts entirely broken down to its very foundation, but resting in their line about 50 yards. I had the ground excavated on each side of the wall for a considerable distance, and at intervals, in order to see whether any building branched off from it, but I could not find any. The ground then turned over presented, however, many fragments of beautiful Samian ware, none of which, with the exception of one or two very small pieces, had been found in "The Butts". These fragments had on them many and curious devices, and three pieces pre-

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. viii, p. 34.

sented the maker's name. There were also discovered a few copper coins, but very much injured. There were traces of the effect of fire, by the side of the wall pieces of charcoal and cinders being discovered. A whetstone and piece of flint were found here, in addition to pieces of glass, some of which were of a green, and some of a yellowish white hue.

On the south side of Castlecroft, immediately adjoining the road, which runs through Wall from east to west, some holes were dug in order to prove whether any Roman remains could be found there or not, as no trace of masonry could be discovered; and at about 4 ft. from the surface a layer of clay, about 6 in. thick, was come on; under which, in some places, was a layer of charcoal, in others sand. The clay must have been brought to the spot as there is none in the immediate neighbourhood. Beneath these materials animals' bones, but not human, were found. I also discovered there, in addition to pieces of iron-cinder (which looked as if iron were worked here), many pieces of iron, one of which I think is a portion of a spear or sword; and another I imagine to be part of a bridle-bit, for on taking it out of the ground, and striking it, to remove the soil which adhered to it, some large teeth fell from it. There were many other pieces of iron picked up here, but so much corroded that it is impossible to say what they had been. Two large pieces, however, seem to have been used as door-handles. They are about 16 in. in length; curved on the middle, so as to admit the grasp of the hand; and flattened at each end, so that they could be attached to a door.

There was very little pottery found here, but some lead and copper. Of the former, some was reduced to a white paste, but many whole pieces were obtained; two have the appearance of having been used as weights. They are about $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter; one is three-quarters of an inch thick, the other is very thin. Other pieces of lead, curved at the end, presenting the appearance of hold-fasts, were dug up here, as well as many other small fragments of the same metal.

There were many traces of copper articles here too,—small, thin pieces, and little nails of copper; one of them I think is a key; the other, part of a fibula. Others are

undoubtedly small nails or rivets ; and others, pieces of plate or sheet-copper, and may possibly have been pieces of armour.

In some parts of these excavations, together with the before-named iron, lead, and copper, ashes existed, and the burnt clay showed the action of fire. Some few coins were found here also, and some broken pieces of glass.

In a field on the opposite side of the road before named, running from east to west through Wall, and south of Castlecroft, I found a large quantity of animal-bones, and also clay and charcoal, as in Castlecroft, but no metal. On the opposite side of the field are the remains of a road paved, as before described, with pebble-stones and boulders, which was traced into an adjoining field.

About 100 yards to the west, and beyond the road, are the ruins of a wall which has long ago been thrown down, and was possibly the city wall of *Etoctum*. On the south side a road similarly paved was uncovered in digging the foundations for the church.

Besides the articles found in Castlecroft there is in the Museum at Lichfield an urn which was discovered there about fourteen years ago, containing burnt bones ; and I am told upon good authority, that in the road running from north to south, by Castlecroft, near the "Troopers' House", a stone coffin was discovered, containing some human remains, at the time the road in question was lowered, about thirty years ago.

In the fields in the immediate vicinity of Wall, especially in those that lie on the south and west, quantities of Roman pots can be found at any time ; but I cannot hear of any foundations being discovered. To the south of the road before named, Dr. Plot certainly mentions some Roman remains being found at Chesterfield (p. 401), —a pillar, of which he gives a drawing, and some other antiquities ; but I cannot find in any of the fields to the south any traces of building, only broken pottery ; although Camden says¹ that the place is called Wall from the piece of wall remaining then, and including about two acres, called Castlecroft, to which the ancient city is

¹ P. 495, vol. ii

said to have adjoined, on the other side of the road (*i.e.*, south side), destroyed before the Conquest, according to the old tradition of the inhabitants.

They show places where, by the great foundations, they suppose stood a temple. This is said to be where the church now stands; and the reason the church was placed there is as follows. It was intended to erect the church at the point where four ways met (Mr. Alin's house), and, indeed, the foundations were put in, when it was discovered that for some reason or other the land could not be conveyed, so the building had to be pulled down, and another site fixed upon. Singular to relate, the only plot to be obtained was that which was said to be the site of the ancient Temple of Minerva.

Mr. Lomax, in his *Guide to Lichfield*, writes,—“Some time since a man much employed in draining lands in the neighbourhood of Wall was asked if he ever found coins or curiosities there. He replied, he had often met with coins, etc.; ‘but once’, said he, ‘I found a figure of earthenware as big as a man; but it was not a man’ (here he described with his hands the shape of a female bust); ‘it was not a woman, for it had a queer dress, and a man’s cap like a soldier’s helmet; and we broke it in pieces to mend the bank of the drain.’”

Coins of Tiberius and other emperors have been picked up in gold, silver, and copper. Not far from the same spot a farmer of the name of Derry found, some feet deep in the earth, three earthen pots. “I thought”, said he, “they were full of money, but they contained nought but bones; so for fear anybody hereafter might abstract the ashes of the dead, I took my spade and champed them all to pieces.”

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIVALS : A STUDY OF THE PAST IN THE PRESENT.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

An old proverb says :

“What is new is not true,
And what is true is not new”;

and new things have been defined as such as the prior existence of which have been forgotten. These statements sound as paradoxical, yet as archæologists we must see the truth of them is growing more or less manifest, within certain limits. There are many things, especially in art, which are considered modern or new, which really are very ancient indeed ; only people generally, except a few archæologists who have made these subjects their speciality, know their antiquity.

The interesting work of Dr. Mitchell recently brought the attention of the public to survivals in Scotland of ancient implements and institutions which were supposed obsolete. Will you allow me to quote a few which have come before my notice in Cornwall and elsewhere ? My remarks must necessarily be discursive, as I just venture to lay before you what I have noticed myself, and not what I have found others notice.

Before referring to Cornish instances I will mention the origin of this paper and its suggestion to me. I was at the Museum at Geneva, and noticed in a cabinet a set of hair-pins and bangles which, if cleaned and gilded, might easily be worn without being noticed as remarkable by any lady at a dinner-party to-day. They were quite what we call fashionable now, but they were over two thousand years old. The distant past of Greece is revived in the jewelry of London and Paris of to-day.

In Cornwall we have a curious contrast of the remote past of early Britain, prehistoric and Romano-British remains, with our nineteenth century. In this point it strikes me, in its rude, rough way, Cornwall is like modern

Rome. Just as the Rome of the Cæsars, or even of Servius Tullus, is seen (in its antique, massive glory, splendid in grand associations, in engineering skill, in architectural beauty, and æsthetic grace) jostling against the modern semi-Parisian Rome of King Victor Emmanuel, so in Cornwall, in its rough way, prehistoric remains (which some antiquaries now think to be as old as the Etruscan cities), or Romano-British relics certainly anterior to the age of Egbert or Athelstan, and sometimes possibly anterior to St. Augustine of Canterbury, are in close contact with mines provided with the newest appliances and houses of most recent styles. In Rome the mediæval period is obscured, if not absent; in Cornwall it is (except in the churches, few of which, I think, we decided are, in their present state, anterior to the Wars of the Roses) not very manifest. You seem to leap from real antiquity to quite modern times.

Especially is this true with regard to institutions, customs, and traditional habits. The Cornish peasant or miner is a quaint mixture of the ancient Briton and a nineteenth century workman. The tourist or stranger will probably notice the nineteenth century side most, for that is for use in company; but as one lives among the people, more and more the dim past comes out, and one feels one is living among people, some of the roots of whose ideas and habits are almost as antique as the Roman Forum or the Coliseum, for their Celtic ancestors had these notions and habits when Agricola came to Britain.

I shall be very brief as to these:—1. The May-horns that welcome summer probably are the welcome whereby the Britons, Armoricans, and Gauls of old greeted Turau or Taracno, the Lord of Summer, in the days of Julius Cæsar.

2. The midsummer-fires are a sign of old usage. It is true they are prevalent over Europe from the Norway fiords to the peaks of the Apennines, from Russian forests to Scottish highlands; but there are some archaic customs still prevailing in Penzance which point to the old fire-festival of the solstice,—(*a*), the passing between the fires as they passed through fire, in honour of Moloch, in the days of Isaiah; (*b*), the waving of torches round the head.

It was said by Chaucer that in his time the fairies had been nearly expelled; but five hundred years after, in Cornwall, I was told recently, at St. Just, of a living miner who had seen them in the fairy-land of the Gump, and some I know are afraid of them.

But I will not detain you with these cases of old world thoughts and usage existing in our living folk-lore side by side with steam engines and electric telegraphs.

In actual implements old world thought is not so extinct as people generally suppose. In the Paris Exhibition, in that Gaulish, circular hut (which might be taken as a restoration of a Cornish or Devonshire beehive-hut, as at Chysauster or Bosulow, on our moors), you may have noticed a large stone keeping the thatch down from the wind. The French archæologists were, I doubt not, quite right in their restoration. I have seen stones keeping thatch down in Cornwall in exactly the same way. The Gaulish usage will probably linger into the twentieth century as it flourished in the first.

Near the Gaulish hut was an ancient neolithic cave-dwelling exactly like those our Association visited, I think, in our Cornish Congress, at Trewoofe and at Pendeen Vau. Now Dr. Mitchell says there are cave-dwellers in Scotland, but I do not know any in England. I know, however, of caves for stores, in Cornish farms, somewhat like the idea of the interesting Dane-holes of Essex, which probably were used for storing corn. The same idea of cave-granaries exists in Spain and Russia in full force.

The stone age for implements is, I suppose, past, but not for utensils. It flourishes in our serpentine industry in spite of the vast progress of the ceramic art. In Cornwall we still have, as you know, stone candlesticks, stone vases, stone sugar-basins, etc. The stone table is getting out of date in England; but in France and Italy the antique Roman and Greek usage of stone for tables and seats is common enough. I had four stone tables in the room where I stayed in Paris a few months ago; so stone tables are quite surviving in the most advanced modern culture, and are not likely to be stamped out for the present.

I would now supplement these remarks with a few

points taken out of Cornwall, which may be familiar to you, but which I think are worth noticing as supporting my position. They are confined to my own observation.

I have seen the British coracle in Wales. Its principle is reviving. In Newlyn we have at least one collapsible boat, *i.e.*, a modernised coracle. The modern water-tricycle carries out the British ideal of the first century.

The sandal is extinct in England, though not a few Scotch Highlanders and Irish folk, not merely from poverty, but from choice, walk in the still more primitive mode of going barefoot. I have seen in Poland the farmers' well dressed daughters as they enter villages put on their boots, as they walked about the country in the antique Sarmatian mode, barefoot, but accommodated themselves in villages and towns to nineteenth century prejudices. The same may be seen in Scotland and Ireland. It is a trifle, but may be used as symbolic of the two lines of thought of these country folk,—the antique and traditional, for home use; the modern, for respect to nineteenth century prejudices. Our Cornish country folk live a good deal in this double life, *i.e.*, the antique and the modern. The menhir is close to the mine-engine, the cromlech and cliff-castle close to the telegraph-wires. Sandals are not extinct in Europe. They are worn in North Italy, and there is a good deal to be said in their favour in a hot climate. They leave "the foot free", as the Irish call it, and protect the sole. Besides, they are antique and picturesque, which mean nothing in England, but much in Italy.

The *ligae* on the legs are used by the Galicians as well as on the Campagna Romana even without sandals.

The oldest costume of the Britons and Northern Europeans, according to ancient theory and probability, was the skin-coat. With all our steam looms it is not quite extinct. I have seen raftsmen on the Vistula dressed in skin-coats; indeed, in sheep-skins. The cut of the sheep-skins was antique, not unlike the Greek tunic.

The fur hat was probably worn by the Scythians. After many changes it is again the national headdress of the Russian army, and there are probably more fur hats worn now in Scythia than in the day of "the Father of History."

There are four practical points that I wish to deduce from these facts, and a host of others of a similar class that I cannot have time to suggest to you, but with which you are probably familiar.

1. The ancient customs, implements, utensils, and costumes of the old world were not always superseded because they were useless or bad, but often because of war (as in the irruption of the barbarians destroying old Greek and Roman culture in Western Europe), or mere change of fashion and popular fickleness. Some of them were excellent in their way, and in after ages may be restored. Such was the renaissance of art in Europe, and there have been many minor revivals of antique things on a smaller scale since.

2. Things which are commonly called antiquities in cities may still survive in actual use in remote country places. In our own England, in Cornwall, in Northumberland, and even in other counties, there are quaint, old world places where ideas and even things are in use which dwellers in cities do not commonly suspect. On the European continent such people as the Mordvinians, the Basque mountaineers, even the Bretons, have customs such as few persons who have not studied the subject suspect as surviving in the Europe of the nineteenth century.

3. Some ancient institutions which were dying in the eighteenth century become lively and vigorous in the nineteenth. I instanced some languages, *e.g.*, the Bohemian, to the Association at our Liverpool Congress. Bohemian was dying a hundred years ago. It seems vigorous now. So with other things, *e.g.*, costumes. The bangle was little worn in Europe for a thousand years. Now it is common. The fur hat was being given up by the Russians; it is now general. Stone was nearly given up for utensils in Cornwall; now it is common for ornamental purposes.

4. Lastly, practical men of the "Gradgrind" type are wont to ask us archaeologists "What is the good of archaeology?" It is thought mere "dry as dust", of no practical use. May there not be a time when archaeology may be regarded as a practical factor even in material progress, as it already is in illustrating history? Some

ancient things were not abolished because they were evil or useless, but from mere fortune of war, or fickleness. They may become again of use. What has the past to say? Can it give no hints? Probably in the century which is coming the world may see more revivals of ancient things than in this. Things new and old may be brought from its treasures, and the past made to teach the future. Especially may this be in the case of art.

Obituary.

CHARLES ROACH SMITH, ESQ., F.S.A.

It is difficult, even in an autobiography, for an antiquary to give a just presentment of himself; much more difficult is it when the life has to be written by another. The following slight sketch of the career of the late Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., must be wanting in the numerous details which fill up the measure of a life devoted to antiquarian pursuits. He may be said to have been almost the founder of the new school of Romano-British archæology. The reactionary spirit since the days of Camden, Horsley, and Lysons, had much damped new researches into Roman history as connected with Britain; but Mr. Smith, when he joined Dr. Pettigrew and others in founding the British Archæological Association in 1843-4, marked out for himself a plan of further discoveries in this line by collecting Roman remains, by personally examining Roman walls, and walking over Roman roads, camps, and dykes, while he paid special attention to the Roman coins discovered in confirmation of the scanty records of the Roman historians. From his *Retrospections, Social and Archæological*, of which two volumes have been published, and a third was in the press at his decease, the following records have been taken.

He was born at Landguard Manor House, near Shanklin. His father, who was of an ancient family, died when he was very young, and numbered among his friends, Wilkes at Sandown, and Morton the dramatist, who lodged yearly at Shanklin, and was a frequent visitor at Landguard. Mr. Smith's mother was of the old family of Roach of Arretton Manor. Views of Landguard and Arretton Manor houses, and of the school at Brading, where his first rudiments of knowledge were imbibed, are given in vol. ii of the *Retrospections*.

Mr. Crouch was his schoolmaster, at Swathling, who removed to St. Cross, near Winchester, whither his pupils followed him; but he gave up teaching on coming into a considerable fortune. Mr. Smith was then placed with a Mr. Withers at Lymington, being at the time between thirteen and fourteen years old. Mr. Gullen, the classical teacher there, seems to have taken a fancy to a pupil who showed much interest in the subjects propounded, and the lad was often selected to read aloud, which he could do with proper emphasis and rhythm.

Soon after leaving Lymington he was placed, for a short time, in the office of a solicitor at Newport, and boarded at the Academy of Mr. A. Clarke, so that his studies were not altogether interrupted. He visited an uncle at North Stoneham on his way to school, and there made the acquaintance of the Rev. Frederick Beadon, the Rector, who, finding he had a good voice, afterwards admitted him to sing treble in his choir. Mr. Beadon died in 1879, at the age of 102 years, having been born in 1777. Mr. Smith, many years afterwards, met a nephew of Mr. Beadon, Mr. George Warde Norman, a Director of the Bank of England, and received kind invitations from him to Bromley, not only for himself but for friends.

The great trial of his life, he said, was when first apprenticed to Mr. Follett, a respectable chemist in Chichester, as he had no relish for the vocation chosen for him. His mother wrote him a sensible letter on the subject, and he replied that she should never again hear a word of complaint from him, and he kept his promise. His taste for the theatre had to be suppressed; but was never extinguished by his archæological studies.

Mr. Follett must have been surprised at his apprentice's borrowing a horse, on a November evening, to look at some coins found about six miles off, as he was afraid of losing the chance of seeing them by waiting till morning. The wife of the owner who had found the treasure was in bed; but Mr. Smith persuaded her to get up, and show him the coins, and he subsequently succeeded in securing 250 or 300 out of the 840 which had been found. A striking instance this of enthusiasm and energy in the pursuit of antiquities at an early age.

On the death of his mother he resolved to start in business on his own account in London, and was domiciled in Lothbury, at the back of the Bank of England, having succeeded a Mr. Dunn in business there. Notwithstanding his arduous undertaking of almost founding a new business, he made time to investigate the remains of Roman London whenever an opportunity presented itself through metropolitan improvements, and ultimately brought out a work, *Illustrations of Roman London*.

At Lothbury he first became acquainted with Mr. John G. Waller,

and his intercourse and friendship with him was never interrupted. With him he made excursions to Trèves and also to Dax, which supplied him with much information on Roman antiquities at those places, described in the *Collectanea Antiqua*. Mr. Tite, the architect of the Royal Exchange, assisted in London investigations, as also Mr. Edward B. Price, whose son, Mr. John Edward Price, imbibing the good taste of his father, is one of the most earnest antiquaries of the present day.

The Numismatic Society was founded, in which Mr. Smith took an active part, and this placed him in communication with Dr. John Evans, now President of the Society of Antiquaries, and with Mr. John Y. Akerman, the well known numismatist.

City alterations compelled him to remove from his house, and he had a law-suit before receiving proper compensation. A compromise was made for him by Mr. Fitzroy Kelly, his advocate, afterwards Lord Chief Baron, and he took possession of a roomy house in Liverpool Street, where he lived fifteen years from 1840, and then retired from business.

His friends in the literary and scientific world were constantly increasing in number, and his fame was growing apace, like a tree in his garden at Strood; and he became known not only by his writings, but by his fine collection of Roman remains in the Liverpool Street Museum. This is shown by the number and quality of the names inserted in his visitors' book.

His writings were very numerous, and full of collected facts. When elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries he was active in his work, writing papers for their *Archæologia*. His *Collectanea Antiqua*, in seven volumes, summed up his views and latest discoveries up to the time of each volume appearing. To the many county Societies he was also constantly contributing information and valuable essays, especially to the *Archæologia Eliana* of the Newcastle Society, to the Kent and Middlesex Societies, as well as to the British Archaeological Association, of which he was one of the founders. He was a diligent correspondent of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, which stood first among antiquarian publications from 1731 to 1868, maintaining its reputation also for general literature, under its Editors, John Gough Nichols, succeeded by Mr. J. H. Parker and Mr. Walford. *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lynton*, appeared in 1850; and he wrote a further *Report on the Excavations at the Camp of Lynton* in 1852, supplemented by Mr. James Elliott, Jun.; and on the *Excavations at Pevensey*, where he was assisted by the experience of Mr. A. Lower of the Sussex Society, author of *Sussex Worthies* and other works. In 1854 he published an illustrated *Catalogue of his Museum*, in 193 pages; and a petition was presented to the House of Commons, signed by the principal antiquaries and men of science in England, praying that the

nation would purchase Mr. Smith's collection, which he had been twenty years in bringing together. A similar petition was also presented from Norwich, and ultimately the collection was sold to the Trustees of the British Museum.

One of his first public acts was when, in conjunction with his acting colleague, Thomas Wright, M.A., he took a leading part in the Congress of the British Archæological Association at Canterbury, the first ever held in this country. His friend Mr. Dunkin published a complete account of it in a volume of 464 pages, as this Congress, through disagreement among the members, was never fully reported in the *Journal*. He was joined at the Queen's Head by Mr. Joseph Clarke of Saffron Walden, Mr. J. O. Halliwell the Shakespearean scholar, Mr. Thos. Bateman the Derbyshire antiquary, Mr. Alfred Dunkin, Mr. W. A. Combs, and the Rev. Stephen Isaacson, while his other friends lodged at the Fountain. At Canterbury he speaks of his friend Mr. John Brent, whose researches and discoveries in the Saxon cemeteries of Sarre and Stowting were conducted with remarkable intelligence and success. With the members of the Brent family Mr. Smith says he was ever on friendly terms, although, with the exception of Mr. Cecil Brent, he had not seen much of them.

Mr. Albert Way, M.A., F.S.A., he calls "the most learned and accomplished with whom it had been his good fortune to be associated." The separation from the British Archæological Association of members who formed themselves into another Society caused Mr. Smith to lose sight of Mr. Way for full a dozen years. The Congress of the Archæological Institute at Rochester in 1863 brought them again together, and friendly intercourse continued up to the time of Mr. Way's death at Cannes.

The visit to the Rev. Dr. Faussett at Hessington, who was a grandson of Bryan Faussett, the collector of the unrivalled Saxon remains described in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, led to Mr. Smith's editing an edition of that work, with a preface, at the instance and by the liberality of Mr. Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, who bought the collection.

In September 1844, as appears by the visitors' book, the Rev. R. H. Barham, author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*, visited Mr. Smith's Museum, and took delight in repeating his visits.

The next Congress was that held at Winchester; but within six months after the Meeting at Canterbury, the Association was divided into two hostile camps, and a number of good men separated themselves to form another Society; but, says Mr. Smith, we were never more active than at Winchester. We had Mr. Edward Cressy for the Cathedral; Mr. John G. Waller for the mural paintings; Mr. Charles Warne, author of *Ancient Dorset*; Mr. John Dennett, with his discovery of Saxon remains in the Isle of Wight; and Mr. Hatcher of

Salisbury. The latter took a foremost place at the Winchester Congress, as did also Mr. F. C. Lukis of Guernsey.

Friends and contemporaries were John Britton, who with Mr. Geo. Godwin, the talented Editor of *The Builder*, became firm and useful allies of Mr. C. Roach Smith. Cirencester and Woodchester Roman pavements were visited from the Gloucester Congress, and the grand collection of arms and armour of Sir Samuel R. Meyrick at Goodrich Court. The Warwick Congress brought Mr. Smith on the scenes of the great father of the British drama at Stratford-on-Avon; and his taste for Shakespearean literature was kept up by his intercourse with Mr. J. O. Halliwell (afterwards Halliwell-Phillipps), whose valued friendship he cultivated till death parted them.

He was always intimate with Mr. James R. Planché, Somerset Herald, whose antiquarian knowledge he held in high esteem, shown as it was year by year at the Congresses of the British Archaeological Association, where he was a pillar of strength. But especially did Mr. Smith admire the dramatic talent of one who kept the public interested during so many years by his lyrical pieces, of which no less than one hundred and seventy-six appeared on the stage, from *Amoroso*, the first written, down to *Babil and Bijou*, a spectacular performance, which must have failed but for the merit of the lyrical composition.

The wonderful Roman remains at Caerleon and Caerwent, in South Wales, were visited with the advantage of the company of Mr. John E. Lee, who founded a Museum of Antiquities from those places, and wrote an account of them.

Mr. Smith describes the sixth Congress, held at Chester from July 30 to August 4, 1849, as to him one of the most interesting; and it has proved so to those who attended the Liverpool Meeting in 1887, because the Roman origin of the walls of Chester was called in question by some of the local guides, and the strongly expressed opinions of the Association in a contrary sense were confirmed by reference to what Mr. Roach Smith had written nearly forty years before.

At the 1849 Congress he had working with him his old associates, Messrs. Chaffers, Clarke, Baily, Godwin, Price, Waller, White, Warne, Halliwell, Jewitt, Rolfe, and others, who, if not there in person, were helping him in various ways. Here attended the Rev. J. C. Bruce, at his request, with a lecture on the Roman walls, which he had already made his own, as well as Hadrian's. Mr. Smith made himself thoroughly acquainted with the old wall in company of Messrs. J. C. Bruce and John Clayton, and has described it at length in his works. Mr. Crofton Croker acted as Secretary, with Mr. Smith and Mr. Thomas Wright, for the last time, at Chester. Lord Albert Conyngham resigned the Presidentship also in 1849. He had occupied the post

most successfully during six years, and since his retirement the President has been elected annually.

It is difficult to select by name the antiquaries with whom Mr. Smith was most associated, he having been in communication, more or less, with the principal men of science throughout the kingdom. His acquaintance with Mr. Wm. H. Harrison of Rochester led, by a chain of circumstances, to his settling at Temple Place, Strood. Mr. Wm. H. Rolfe stands the central and prominent figure in the group of his Sandwich friends. In Norfolk should be mentioned Messrs. Dawson Turner, Hudson Gurney, and Wm. S. Fitch. In Essex and Cambridge the Hon. C. R. Nevile and Mr. Round, M.P., did much in promoting the special study in which Mr. Smith was engaged. Mr. Artis of Castor, Northamptonshire, who discovered there the great potteries of Roman *Durobriva* ware and mosaic pavements, struck a chord of sympathy with Mr. Smith, who had assisted in exhuming the Roman factories of Upchurch pottery on the Medway with Mr. Harrison and the Rev. John Woodruff. When residing in Kent he was acquainted with Mr. C. Wykeham Martin, M.P., the learned proprietor of Leeds Castle, near Maidstone, of whom he speaks in high terms. Among his Yorkshire friends he particularly names Mr. Ecroyd Smith; the Rev. Chas. Wellbeloved, author of *York under the Romans*; and the Rev. John Kenrick, son-in-law of the preceding; the Rev. D. H. Haigh of Leeds; and Mr. Llewellyn Jewett. Dr. John Lee of Hartwell House, Bucks., was a diligent fellow-worker, and had a fine museum of antiquities, which was illustrated in a work, *Ædes Hartwellianæ*, by Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N.

The Exhibition of 1851 introduced Mr. Smith to many eminent foreigners. His foreign correspondents became numerous, and he acquired a large insight into continental archæology by his many personal visits to the places described in the *Collectanea Antiqua*. Among his foreign friends best known in this country were, the Abbé Cochet, author of *La Normandie Souterraine*; M. Boucher de Perthes of Abbeville, the owner of a fine museum there; and M. J. A. Worsaae, Vice-President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of the North, who was much in Mr. Smith's intimacy. When he came over to England for historical information, Mr. Smith was made an honorary member of the Society over which Mr. Worsaae presided; and at various times in his life was honoured in the same way by the Royal Historical Society of Madrid, and by many learned Societies in France.

When he retired to Strood, though still engaged in writing for his various Societies, he took no active part in the Congresses of the British Archæological Association, though he sometimes put in an appearance, as he did at Brighton in 1885. His old friend Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam, of Rugby, one of the well known pioneers of Gothic

architecture, was also at the Brighton Congress; and Dr. Birch, Head of the Antiquities Department at the British Museum. Here was Mr. Smith walking over the Downs with the then Treasurer of the British Archæological Association, and with the youngest of the visitors, notwithstanding his advanced age, describing the Roman relics in the Museum at Chichester, and discoursing on the old city walls.

One of those who helped by their drawings to illustrate Mr. Smith's works was Frederick W. Fairholt, to whom he put up a memorial in the churchyard of Stratford-on-Avon, in 1868, assisted by his friend Mr. J. G. Waller.

The *Retrospections* are dedicated to Mr. Joseph Mayer and Mr. Chas. Warne. The latter he would often see at his house in Brighton, on the way to Hollingbury Copse to visit his old friend Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, whose valued friendship he cultivated till death parted them. He by no means vegetated at Strood, where his active mind was constantly employed in giving lectures, or encouraging private theatricals, and in other ways helping to educate the rising generation. He also took much pleasure in his garden, cultivating fruit-trees with so much success that his grapes gained a prize at a show in Liverpool; and 1,000 copies of his pamphlet on fruit-culture were distributed in this country and in France.

The respect for his services to archæology was shown by a testimonial subscribed for by many friends, through the Society of Antiquaries, shortly before his death; and besides a purse of money, a medal was presented to him bearing his effigy on the obverse, and on reverse this lettering :

“TO
CHARLES ROACH SMITH,
F.S.A.,
From fellow-Antiquaries
and Friends
In Recognition of
Life-long Services
to
Archæology.
1890.”

He had visited Rome in 1871, having been invited there for the third time. He died at Strood on 2nd July 1890, in his 85th year, having been born in about 1805; and was buried in Frindsbury Churchyard, by Strood. May all honour be paid to his memory, and justice to his discoveries!

“Purpureos spargam flores et fungar inani
Munere”.....

T. M.

THOMAS HUGHES, ESQ., F.S.A.

This gentleman died, after ten years' illness, at his residence, The Groves, Chester, on May 30th. He was born at St. Werburgh's Mount, in that city, on Sept. 29, 1826, and was educated at the Grammar School of his native city, in which institution he ever took the warmest interest, founding the "Old Boys' Association" in connection with it, and being a Governor until his death. He was Sheriff of Chester in 1873.

Mr. Hughes, in the congenial atmosphere of "Rare Old Chester" (where, in conjunction with Dean Howson, Bishop Stubbs, and Canon Kingsley, he engaged in much good work), could hardly fail to be an antiquary. He early connected himself with an effort which ended in the foundation of the Chester Archæological Society, of which he was Secretary from 1856 to 1887, and a Vice-President to the end of his life.

He edited King's *Fale Royal* in 1852, and Batenham's *Ancient Chester* in 1878. He published his *Stranger's Handbook to Chester* (a very mine of local information, and which has run through many editions) in 1856. He contributed largely to Cheshire and North Wales archæological publications, notably to those of the Chester Society; his best known papers being "The Inns and Taverns of Chester" (1858); "Chester Literature" (1858); "Anglo-Saxon Coins discovered at St. John's Church, Chester" (1864); and "Chester in its Early Youth" (1871). The latter paper was extensively read in England and America, where Mr. Hughes was well known. Dr. Eggleston, of New York, writing a few years ago, says of Mr. Hughes, "Chester would not be Chester without him." In 1862 he first drew attention, in his *Notes on the Roadside Crosses and other Remains in Mid-Devonshire*, to a subject which Mr. Romilly Allen and Mr. William Crossing, and later Mr. A. G. Langdon, have so ably dealt with. He was for many years a regular correspondent of *Notes and Queries* and many kindred publications, and in 1878 commenced *The Cheshire Wheat-Sheaf*, which contained much valuable information, but remains unfinished, though it is hoped it will be completed from the vast amount of local matter the Editor has left behind him in manuscript.

Mr. Hughes was elected a member of the Association in 1859. He was also a life-member of the Royal Archæological Institute and the Chetham Society, and an ordinary member, from their commencement, of the Harleian and Record Societies, and a member of the Council of the latter until his decease. He was chosen a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 7 June 1866, on the nomination of Messrs. Edward Hawkins, Albert Way, Llewellyn Jewett, John Henry Parker, and

others, of whom only Messrs. George Grazebrook and Dr. Collingwood Bruce survive.

Mr. Hughes has gathered together, during a long life, a collection of Cheshire books such as, it is believed, exists nowhere else. We are glad to feel that these will be kept together. Though himself a Churchman, he had a very interesting collection of Wesleyan relics and papers, including much manuscript matter which has never been printed.

He was interred in Chester Cemetery on June 2, 1890, leaving a widow and an only son, Mr. Thomas Cann Hughes, M.A., a solicitor, on the staff of the Town Clerk of Manchester, under whose editorship it is hoped that much of Mr. Hughes' invaluable local materials will see the light, including his *History of Chester School*, and his complete list of the freemen of his native city.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Discoveries at St. Martin's Church, Canterbury.—The Rev. Canon C. F. Routledge, Local Member of Council for Kent, forwards the following notice of further discoveries which he has just made in the ancient Church of St. Martin's, a building known to have been in existence in the time of the Romans.

"During the last few weeks some interesting discoveries have been made in St. Martin's Church. By removing the plaster inside the nave, the Roman wall was traced to the height of about 9 or 10 feet, and the foundations of the church have been carefully explored on the outside. While excavating on the south side of the chancel it was found that *west* of the buttress the foundations were composed of layers of Roman brick to the depth of about 2 ft., while *east* of the buttress there were practically no foundations at all, the wall being built on the bare earth, only 2 or 3 in. below the existing surface of the ground. A hole was then pierced into the church, at 20 ft. from the nave, and a return Roman wall was discovered running inwards. A similar wall was found on the north side of the chancel, just east of the present vestry. This was undoubtedly, therefore, the end of the old Roman church; and the remaining 20 ft. of the chancel were added either in Saxon or Norman times.

"The inside of the chancel was then explored, to see if there were any traces of an apse; but it was found that the interior part of the return wall had been completely destroyed; so that it is still a moot point whether the east end of the Roman church was square or apsidal. We may at any rate safely affirm that the chancel of the original church was about half the length of the nave, instead of being nearly the same length as it at present appears."

An Eighth Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary, preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Edited by J. H. HESSELS. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1890.)—We do not grudge that the honour of editing the oldest MS. containing English words should have fallen to the lot of one who is not an Englishman. So few Englishmen have given themselves the preliminary training necessary to produce a work such as the one before us, that we have lost nothing by entrusting this to Dr. Hessels, who has performed a difficult task (rendered more difficult by the conditions under which he undertook it) exceedingly well. It would have been, of course, far more satisfac-

tory and instructive had he been permitted to add explanatory and comparative notes in elucidation of the archaic, long-forgotten words and expressions which find a place in no dictionary of our language. Perhaps he may be enabled to do this in another way hereafter, and we hope he will.

This Cambridge MS. shares with those known as the Epinal Glossary and the Erfurt Glossary the remarkable position of being one of the three which enshrine, so to speak, our English language in the very oldest conditions under which it is possible to study it. Even this, as he tells us, is not an original work; and the numerous corrupt passages which it exhibits (often unintelligible) show that it is the work of a copyist transcribing an already corrupt example, not that of an original compiler.

What has become of the all-precious original MS. which has formed the archetype from which these three Glossaries are derived? Perhaps we shall never know. The marvel is, that three copies of it—debased and disfigured as they are, as the inevitable result of transcription by an illiterate person—still exist to delight, to puzzle, even sometimes to confound the student of ancient language.

Mr. Hessels places this Corpus MS., and is supported in his view by many, at the beginning of the eighth century, the Epinal to the first half of the ninth, and the Erfurt to the end of that century. Others have recorded their opinions that the Epinal preceded that of Corpus Christi College in point of date. Be this as it may, we have here a triad of MSS. to which every one who studies to understand the true signification and derivation of many English words not explained in any other way must go. It is curious to note that the Corpus MS. is printed now for the first time entire. Our late member, Thos. Wright, in his *Vocabularies*, was the first to give it to the world (1873), but inefficiently; Wülfker, in the work which we reviewed in vol. xl, p. 255, re-edited this of Wright in 1884; and in the following year Sweet, whose *Oldest English Texts* and *Epinal Glossary* have been of service in this direction, incorporated it into the *Texts*; but Mr. Hessels' edition is the only critical and complete one. Hence its extreme value. One of the best interpretations of this MS. (apart from reproductions alone) is the treatise by F. Dieter, *Ueber Sprache und Mundart der Aeltesten englischen Denkmäler der Epinaler und Cambridger glossen*, where the peculiar variations in orthography which prevail in these three codices, and the vowel-changes, are discussed and tabulated.

These Glossaries are of the highest value for two reasons. First, they present a large series of ancient forms of English words, which decide the derivation in many instances, and enable us to trace back their use and primary signification. This is the most important reason. The second, which is almost of equal value, is that they give old Low

Latin words prevailing in that tongue when its older classical or literary character was beginning to pass through the processes of degradation and decay by the gradual disregard of grammatical rules, and crowding new words borrowed from subject countries into the pure language, preliminary to the erection of the new Romance languages upon the wreck of the standard Latin.

The study of this phase of Latin is only possible by the help of such evidences as the *Corpus Christi MS.* affords, hence Mr. Hessels, by the work before us, claims justly the gratitude of the student not only of archaic English, but of the *infima Latinitas* which is essential to the right understanding of mediæval antiquities and archæology in England. What is still wanting is for some master-hand to rebuild up out of the material which these three Glossaries already spoken of contribute, a comprehensive structure of the English language in its most remote guise. Even at the period covered by the MSS. the language was strictly controlled by grammatical rules. We find singulars and plurals, genders, declensions, prepositions governing cases, conjugations, moods, participles, infinites, and so forth; facts which indicate that the language had passed out of its formative period into an adult growth when these Glossaries were in course of compilation. No one has yet done this satisfactorily and completely. Perhaps Mr. Sweet has approached this aspect of the study more closely than any one else at present; but his *Oldest Texts* do not leave the impression of perspicacity on the mind of the consulter, and his method of arrangement is often confusing and involved. In Mr. Hessels' the orderly mind comes out fully to the front, and the result to the student is consequently far more satisfactory.

The Editor points out many interesting details in the handwriting of the MS., and furnishes a beautifully executed specimen-plate of one page, so as to enable the reader to judge for himself as to the date of the MS., and to compare it with the plates taken from the Epinal MS. (about as bad as they can possibly be), which were published by Mr. Sweet.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press were unwilling to allow Mr. Hessels to do more than prepare an exact reproduction of the original; that is, with all its scribal mistakes, errors of grammar, erroneous divisions of words, and peculiarities of spelling, without elucidation of any, even the most corrupt glosses. And to these restrictions Mr. Hessels has adhered, notwithstanding that in his Introduction he has recorded a great number of such errors. The reason of these errors is, no doubt, due to the fact that the copyist hardly understood what he was copying: hence truncation of words by omission of syllables, mistaken contractions, transposition of letters, misreading of strokes (such as *smus* for *sinus*), wrong division of words,

wrong case-endings, unwarrantable additions of letters, and so forth, all play their part in turn to corrupt the text of this remarkable MS. Something also has to be allowed for the gradual alterations of fashion in the spelling of Latin words, many of which are excellently and typically represented here. The list of works containing material for the study of glossaries will be useful, although confessedly incomplete, in directing students to other works where they are likely to obtain assistance in investigating many of the significations of this large collection of words.

Mr. Hessels calculates that there are eight thousand seven hundred and twelve glosses; and his indices, which testify eloquently to his indefatigable work on the subject, contain over twenty-one thousand Latin words, and nearly three thousand three hundred Anglo-Saxon words. Of the latter, a large proportion are not found in the Dictionaries which have been published of that language. In a passage in his Introduction Mr. Hessels hints at a possible preparation of the Leiden Glossary and other similar MSS. deposited in the Libraries of Cambridge, Oxford, and the British Museum, which deserve to be published by competent scholars, not only on account of their great importance for the study of Latin, but of English. We hope that he may be prevailed upon, by the success and approbation which the present work is sure to obtain, to go on with these Glossaries, and produce companion-volumes treating the other old codices in a corresponding manner. He will by so doing earn the gratitude of all who work in these paths wherein he has shown himself so able a leader.

"Historic Bindings in the Bodleian Library."—Under this title Messrs. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, are about to publish a *livre de luxe*, for subscribers only. The author of the work is Mr. W. Salt Brassington, of Moseley, who has devoted much time to the study of this interesting branch of bibliography.

Under the supervision of the author, Mr. Fleming, one of the photographers working at the British Museum, obtained upwards of forty negatives of the chief bookbindings in the Bodleian. Twenty-four of these have been selected to illustrate the book. The selected examples include many choice works of art in carved ivory (tenth and eleventh centuries), enamel, goldsmiths' work, embroidery, and leather (stamped and gold tooled). There will be plates of fine oriental, German, and French bindings, as well as of books formerly possessed by King Henry VIII, Cardinal Wolsey, Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Leicester, Sir T. Wotton, King James I, Henry II of France, Catherine dei Medici, Dianne de Poytiers, President de Thou, and other noted collectors.

By way of introduction an essay has been written dealing with the history of the Bodleian and of old English stamped leather bindings. The introduction will be well illustrated by plates of a contemporary binding upon a Caxton, several specimens of early Oxford binding (1480), and examples of stamped (English) heraldic bindings.

Only 150 copies will be printed, at prices varying from £2 2s. to £4 14s. The work will be issued when fifty subscribers' names have been received.

Roman Discoveries at Bath.—There has been discovered, during the excavations for the New Corporation Steam Laundry, York Street, Bath, a stone *meta* which it is suggested was originally on the apex of the cupola of the *calidarium*. Recently, as we learn from *The Bath Herald*, a still more interesting and valuable discovery has been made, as it relates to the personal habits of the ancient inhabitants of that city, and conclusively proves that the Roman Baths, as the Baths of Rome, were a daily resort for amusement as well as for bathing; and still further proves that the Baths, down to the destruction of the city in A.D. 577, were frequented by the Romano-British citizens who were left behind on the abandonment of the island by the Roman legions.

In clearing out the newly discovered bath, a bone die, or *talus*, has been found. In the game of dice, or *alea*, two kinds of dice were used,—*tali*, played with four pieces of bone, each of the four sides being a parallelogram of a length greater than its width; or the *tesserae*, played with three dice-cubes, as in the modern game. The dice found in the bath is a *talus*. It is in length $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., and in thickness half an inch. Each of the long sides is marked. On one side there are three spots; at the opposite side four spots; and on the other two sides, five and six respectively. Each mark consists of a central dot surrounded by two concentric circles. The three marks are arranged triangularly, the four and five are placed in the usual way, but the six marks are indicated by two at each end, and two lengthwise, thus, : ∴ : At each end of this die, which is a square of half an inch, the remaining two numbers are given. Number 1 is represented by a centre and one circle; the other, number 2, by a centre and two concentric circles.

The game of *alea*, or dice, whether *tali* or *tesserae*, was played, according to Becker's *Gallus*, by throwing the dice "out of a cup of horn, boxwood, or ivory, which had graduated intervals inside, that the dice might be better mixed", precisely as in our modern dice-box. "This cup was narrower at the top than below, and from its shape was called *pyrgus* or *turricula*, more generally *fritillus*. It is alluded to by Martial in the following lines,—

"Pum blandâ vagus aleâ December
Incertis sonat hinc et hinc fritillus,
Et ludit rota nequiore talo." (Martial, iv. 14.)

A cup agreeing almost precisely with this description has also been found, but the material is earthenware. It is broken at one end, on which there appears to have been a ball, or possibly a foot, so that the length ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in.) is less by an inch than it was in its perfect condition. The mouth, 2 in. in diameter, is narrower by half an inch than the body of the *fritillus* or dice-box, which has six sides, produced by concave compressions 2 in. in length.

A small fragment of another *fritillus* has also been found. It is believed that this dice-box was used for playing with *tesserae* rather than with *tali*.

A circular disk, 2 in. in diameter, has been dug up; but the material, whether of bone or boxwood, has not been ascertained. There are two holes on one of its surfaces, and it is suggested that this disk was used to stop the aperture of the *fritillus* when the dice were being rattled, and that a loop of metal, to receive the fore-finger, was attached to it where the holes exist.

Some small fragments of engraved glass have also been found.

Monumental Brasses: a Series of Twelve Plates of Fourteenth Century Brasses in the County of Norfolk.—This is an interesting work which should be in the hands of all archæologists interested in the monumental brasses of the county, those of Norfolk being a very important series. The first Part, which is already published, consists of six plates of reproductions of rubbings, reduced by photolithography, by Mr. Griggs, and are of sufficiently large size for every item of the designs to be clearly understood.

The plates in the first Part represent one of the celebrated early brasses in Elsing Church, Sir Hugh Hastings, 1547; that to Robert Attelath, 1376, formerly at Lynn, the design of which is obtained from a rubbing fortunately in the British Museum; two early brasses at Necton, Simon and Roger de Felbrigg and wives, in Felbrigg Church, c. 1380; a very fine example, Lord John Harsick and Lady, at South Acre Church, 1384; and the matrix of a brass at Emneth, of the early date of c. 1290.

When we say that the price of the Part is only half-a-crown, and that the plates are each 17 in. by 11 in. in size, it will be apparent that this fine work is a marvel of cheapness.

There is to be a second Part, which will also contain six plates, at the same price; but in view of the immense number of examples in Norfolk alone, and of their archæological value, it is very greatly to be hoped that the author may be encouraged to continue his work of publication so as to extend the work to larger dimensions.

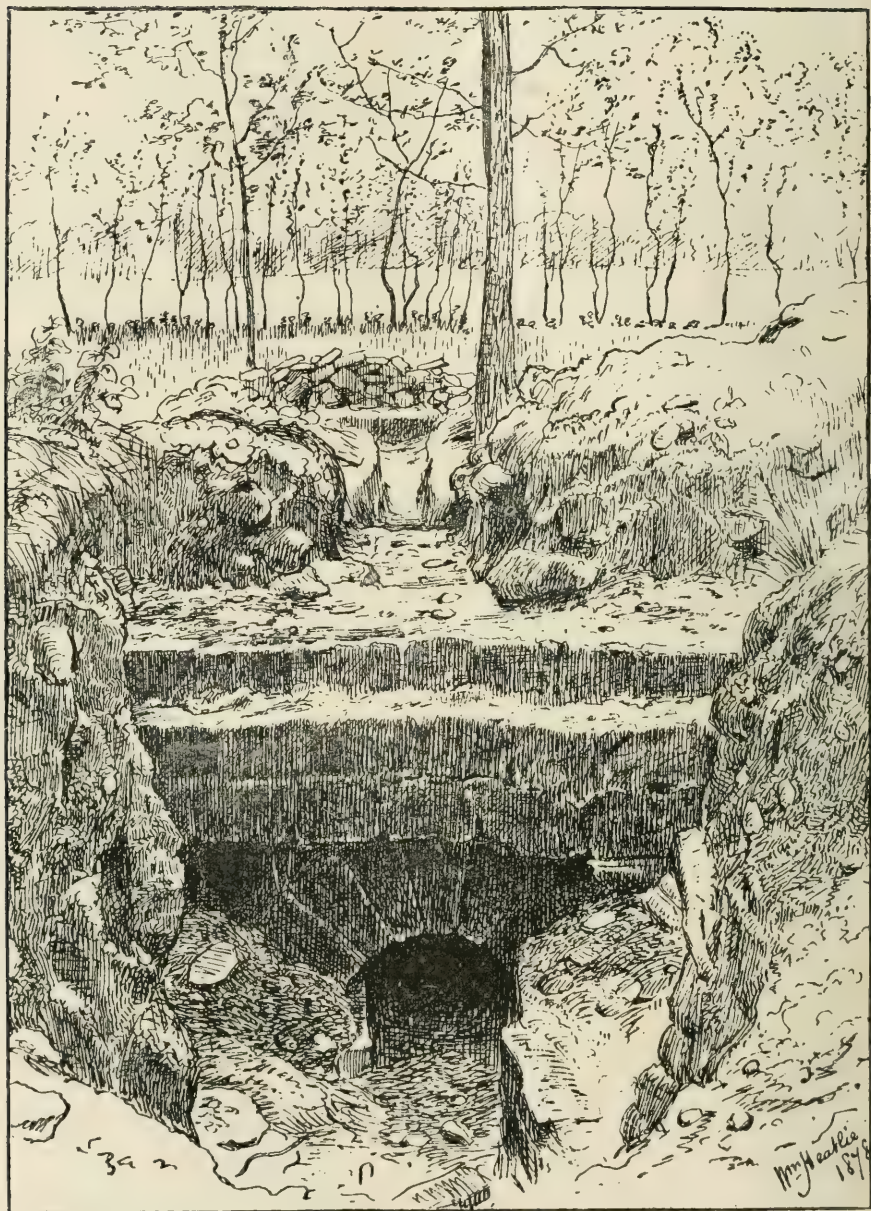
The plates being facsimiles of actual rubbings have the merit of rendering exact transcripts of the objects, and nothing is lost by the

process which has previously obtained in illustrations of these interesting memorials, of representing them in line only, copied from the rubbings.

The names of subscribers either for the first or the second Part, at the moderate price named, will be received by E. M. Beloe, Esq., Jun., of King's Lynn, Norfolk, who has himself taken the whole of the rubbings except those in the British Museum.

Mr. C. Roach Smith's "Retrospections."—We understand that vol. iii of this work was left in a forward state by the late Mr. C. R. Smith, and that Mr. J. G. Waller, F.S.A., has undertaken to see the final sheets through the press. This volume will thus possess the melancholy interest of being the last literary work of our distinguished Associate.

VINOVIA.



RAMPART AT NORTH-EAST CORNER, WITH CULVERT (INNER FACE).

THE JOURNAL

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British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER 1890.

VINOVIA.

PART III.

BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, LL.D.

(Read 16th April 1890.)

IN former papers on Vinovia the writer has described the site, the ramparts, the main street, and the most important buildings of this once famous Roman town. He proposes now to lay before the Association an account of the various sculptures, inscriptions, coins, and smaller objects of interest generally, which have been found within its limits.

Before, however, doing so he is glad to be able to introduce, through the munificence of Mr. Proud (to whose generous purse he is indebted for very many of the illustrations which accompany this paper), another view of the rampart and culvert described in the *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 118. This view is the exact counterpart of the view facing that page. That shows the outside of the rampart and culvert; this the inside, *at the same spot*.

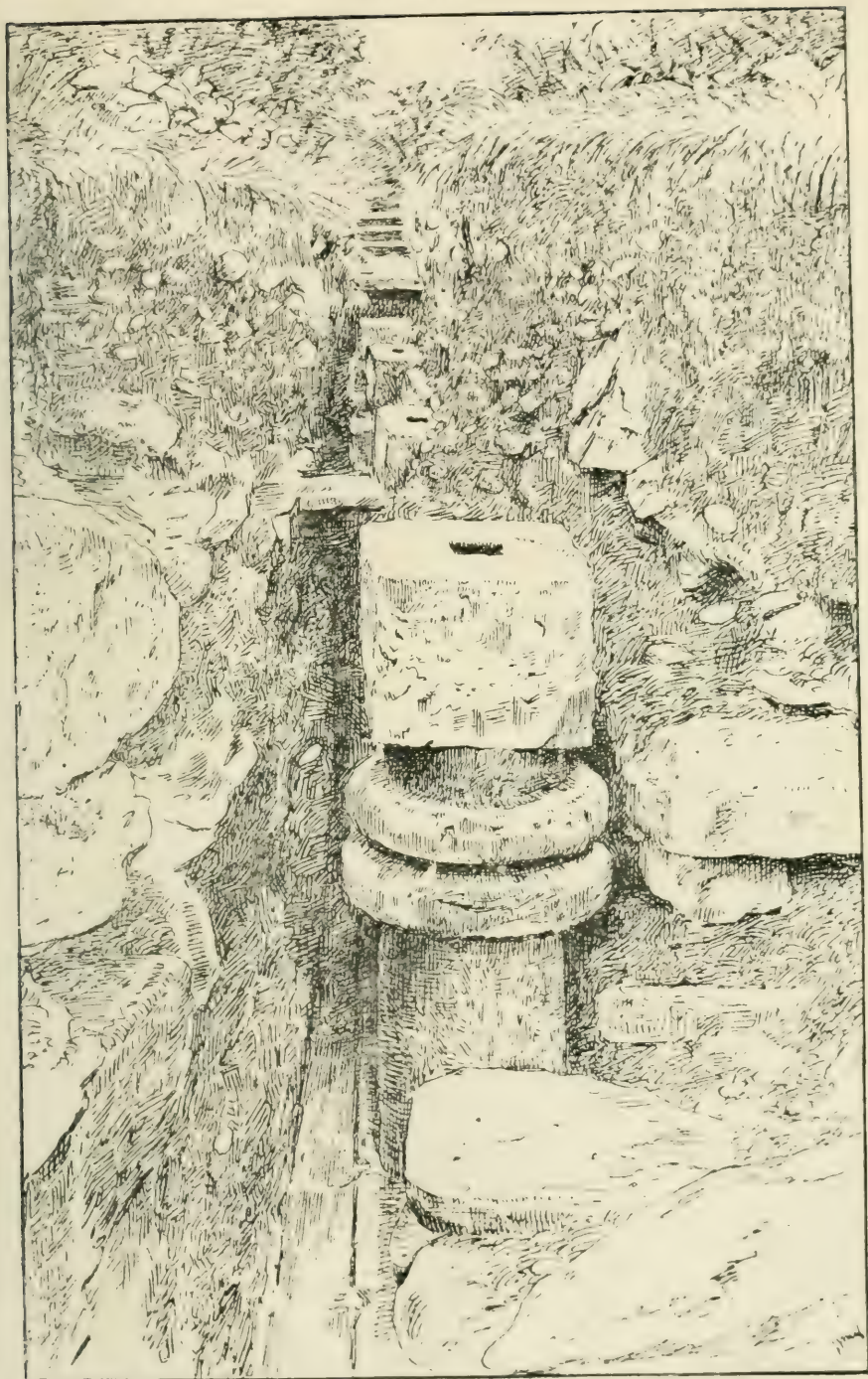
The writer is also able to give another view of the buildings fringing the great Watling Street, which ran through the station. A corner of one of these buildings is shown in the view facing p. 121, in vol. xliii. The present view gives a greater length of the buildings running southward from the one just mentioned. The many courses of stones still standing are seen, the continuous line of massive, channeled stones lying at the original level of the Street, and a very curious feature which puzzled the explorers for a long time when these remains

were first unearthed,—a line of large cubical stones with square holes in the centre of their upper surfaces, which there can now be no doubt stood on each side of the doorways, and sustained pillars or jambs of wood or some other material. There is one in the bottom right hand corner of the Plate, and indications of three, if not of four, others in the upper part of the view.

These cubical door-stones come out still more clearly in another view the writer is able to give; and besides these, another singular feature comes out plainly, viz., a succession of flat door-steps (if the term may be so used), which were laid down evidently to bridge the gutter which was naturally formed, in the absence of channeled stones, in the front of the houses, by descending rains. These are on a level with the under side of the cubical stones which bore the pillars or jambs which adorned or formed the doorways. They are 4 ft. above the original channeled guttering, and all the intervening space is filled with the *débris* of the twice previously ruined town. A striking illustration of the truth of this latter statement is seen in this view, one of the cubical door-stones being placed upon two fragments of columns mutually inverted; and the Watling Street, on the left, being packed as closely as possible with disjointed stones and other fragments of the elder Vinovias.

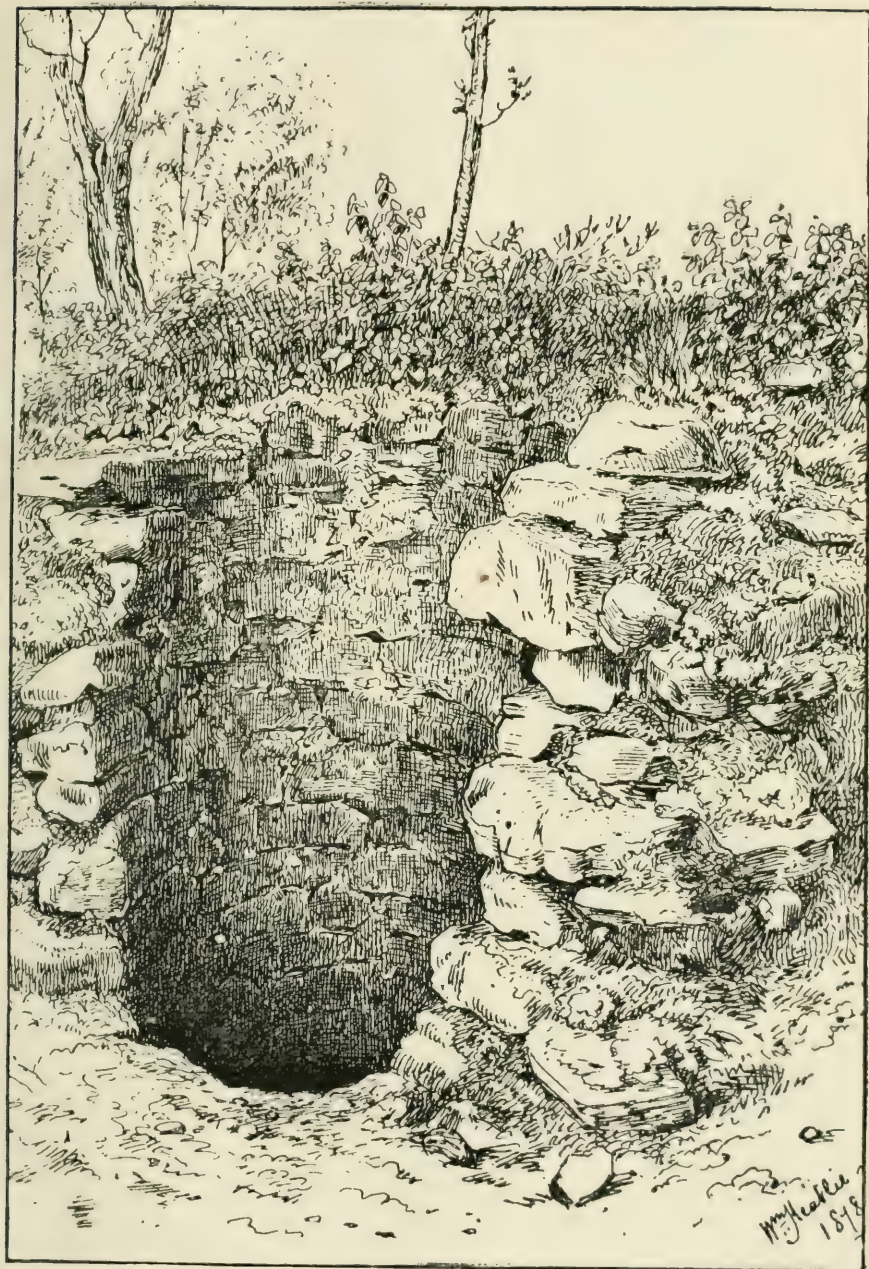
On p. 114 of vol. xliii, a well is mentioned, which, walled round by Roman workmen, and doubtless situated then well within the plateau on which the town was built, is now on the very edge of the precipice; down which, indeed, many of its stones have already rolled. The accompanying view represents it as it was when found. Every effort has been made to prolong its existence; but as the bank is continually slipping away, a few more years will, doubtless, obliterate its at any rate more prominent traces.

Before turning now to the smaller or movable objects found in the exploration conducted by Mr. Proud in 1878-79, it will be right to mention those of which record has come down to us from former times. Leland, Camden, and Burton have spoken of the buildings of Vinovia in general terms. From their notices it is evident that when they wrote, remains of the walls, though possibly



DOOR-STONES, ETC., OF BUILDINGS ON WEST SIDE OF WATLING STREET.

VINOVIA.



RUINS OF ROMAN WELL ON EAST SIDE OF WATLING STREET.

only of the ramparts, as at Lanchester at the present day, were standing above ground. When the last fragments of these were finally removed it is, perhaps, not possible now to say.

They also speak of smaller objects. Camden describes two altars he had "met with". Whether he saw them himself, and personally examined them, may be hard to say. Horsley evidently thought he had. The readings of the inscriptions, however, which he gave were so faulty that one is inclined to think he must have trusted to a friendly correspondent. Of the first of these Camden says, a Roman inscription, "cut out thus in an altar there, I lately met with :

DEAB
MATRIB . Q LO...
...CL QVIN
TIANVS ... COS
V . S . L . M"

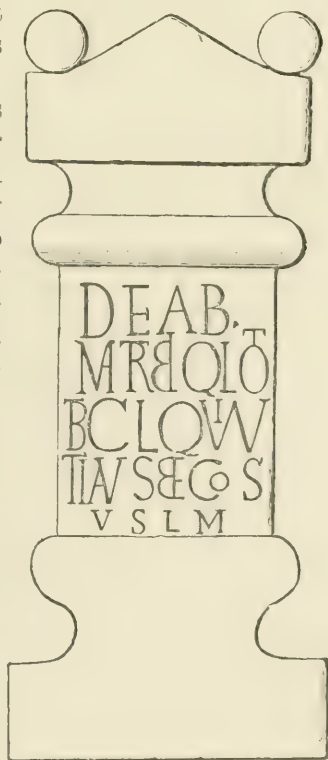
This altar was in existence when Horsley visited Binchester, and he has described it fully, and given a drawing of its appearance and lettering.

The shape of the altar was very curious, being very high for its breadth, and having very bold mouldings both above and below the inscription. The letters also of the latter were very much conjoined and implicated. According to Horsley, when freed from ligatures, etc., they read as follows :—

DEAB .
MATRIB QL QT
FIL CL QVIN
TIANVS BE CONS
V S L M

Or expanded in full—

Deabus
Matribus Quintus Lucius Quinti
Filius Claudiâ Tribu Quin-
tianus Beneficiarius Consulis
Votum Solvit Libens Merito



Which in English is :

To the Mother Goddesses,
 Quintus Lucius Quintianus, the son of
 Quintus of the Claudian Tribe,
 A Beneficiary of the Consul.
 He has paid his vow cheerfully to one deserving of it.¹

The second altar recorded by Camden is described by him in these words : "Another stone was lately dug up here, very much defaced with gaps, which yet, upon a narrow view, shows this inscription :

.

 TRIB COHOR I
 CARTOV
 MARTI VICTORI
 GENIO LOCI
 ET BONO
 EVENTVI"

Camden makes no further remark about this inscription. Horsley found at Binchester two altars, of which he gives outline drawings, but from which the lettering had utterly disappeared. He tells us that he felt sure one of them was this altar of Camden's ; but as the inscription had vanished, he was obliged to take it from Camden's record. His further remarks upon it are as follow : "That the Romans made an imaginary god of Bonus Eventus is certain ; and I have some jealousy" (the north country word for suspicion) "that instead of 'Cartoviorum' we should read 'Cornoviorum'. The 'Cohors Cornoviorum' is in the *Notitia*, and was at Pons Ælii."

Camden, however, was not the only antiquary before Horsley who recorded this altar, and gave what appeared to be the inscription upon it. Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Robert Sibbald have both given their decipherment of it. Sibbald's is as follows :

TRIE . OI...T
 CART * OVAL
 MARTI VETTO
 GENIO LOCI
 IIT . IXT

¹ The above is Horsley's expansion of v. s. l. m. ; but the writer would, for his part, make m. stand for *meritis* in this and similar cases, instead of *merito* ; and would translate the word, "to those deserving of it", rather than "to one deserving of it." It may be remarked, too, that the first combination of letters in line three hardly looks like *fil*.

This is very different, in many respects, from Camden's reading; yet considerations, to be mentioned later on, make it probable that it is decidedly more correct. At this stage, however, the writer will not attempt further explanation of it.

Besides these two altars with inscriptions given by Camden, Horsley gives three others. One of them, as already intimated, retained no legible inscription in his day; but it had the representation of a *præfericulum* on one side, and of a patera on the other. Another, which had once exhibited an inscription, retained, when he saw it, only the concluding formula, V. S. L. M.; but the third was in better preservation, and bore the lettering,—

MAT
. SAC.
GEME
LLVS
V S L M

Which Horsley expanded thus :

MATRIBVS
SACRVM
GEMELLVS
V. S. L. M.

Or in English,—

Sacred to the Mothers.

Gemellus cheerfully pays his vow to those deserving of it.

It has been suggested that the name of the dedicator should be read G EMELLVS, that is, GAIVS EMELLVS, rather than GEMELLVS.

How many Roman sculptured and inscribed stones were found at Binchester after the time of Horsley we have no means of knowing. Perhaps not many before the time of Hutchinson, for he has mentioned but two or three sculptured stones in addition to those described above, and these without inscriptions. One was a figure in relief, of which he has given a rude engraving in his *History of Durham*, vol. iii, p. 347. This figure has been variously described as a faun, a Diana Venatrix, and a slinger. Hutchinson is inclined to adopt the latter of the three explanations. In front of the human figure is an animal resembling a hare.

Apparently after Hutchinson's time, another altar was

found, which came to the knowledge of the Rev. John Farrer, incumbent of Witton-le-Wear, and Master of the Grammar School there, who gave an account of it to the Rev. Mr. Randall of Whitworth (a not very distant parish), in a letter which is now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Greenwell of Durham. The Rev. J. Farrer's reading of the inscription on this altar was as follows :—

SVL P VIC

VETT

CANN

V S L M

He intimates that the inscription was much defaced. We will not at this point offer an explanation of it.

We come now to later times. All these sculptured and inscribed stones have disappeared, and possibly many more with them. In the early part of the present century there was, it is believed, a large and deeply interesting collection of Roman antiquities at what was then, and had been for many generations, Binchester Hall. The latest inheritor of the Hall, however, determined on coal-winning. He sank a pit, and much money in it.¹ He broke up also, and sent down the pit, along, doubtless, with considerable quantities of other stones, the Roman altars and other sculptured remains which his ancestors had found and treasured, as material to be used by the masons employed beneath. Finally he sold his house and estate to Bishop Van Mildert, whose princely castle crowned the opposite hill, and who speedily demolished the mansion, and built a farmhouse in its stead.

The late Canon Raine of Durham, to whom archæology was so greatly indebted in the north of England, arrived on the spot one day, just in time to save the last altar of the collection from the fate which had overtaken its compeers. This he tells us himself in his *History of Auckland Castle*, in a note on p. 4. The rescued altar Canon Raine presented to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and it is now in their magnificent Library along with many other lapidary remains of Roman and Saxon times of priceless value. The size of this altar is 2 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 6 in.

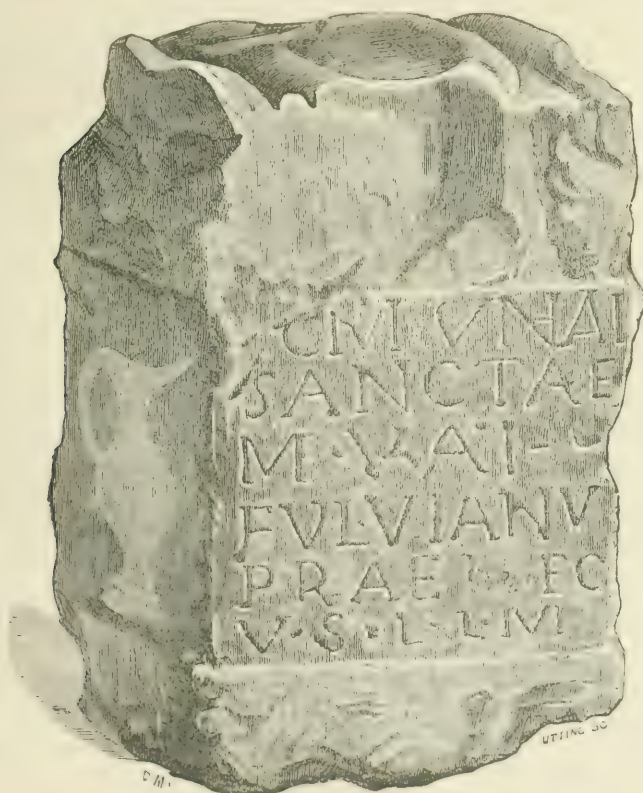
¹ I am informed that the statement made in vol. xliii, at p. 116, that these workings are now "drowned out", is incorrect.

It has been very roughly used. The inscription, however, can be fully made out. It runs thus :

[DEAE]
[F]ORTUNAE
SANCTAE
M VAL [E]
FULVIANVM
PRAEF EC
V . S . L . L . M

Which translated into English signifies,—

To the holy goddess Fortune, deserving of it, Marcus Valerius Fulvianus, Master of the Horse, gladly and cheerfully pays his vow.



Previous to Mr. Proud's recent exploration of Vinovia, this last altar was the only inscribed or sculptured stone from the station known to be in existence. Two inscribed stones, however, were found by Mr. Proud, each of a

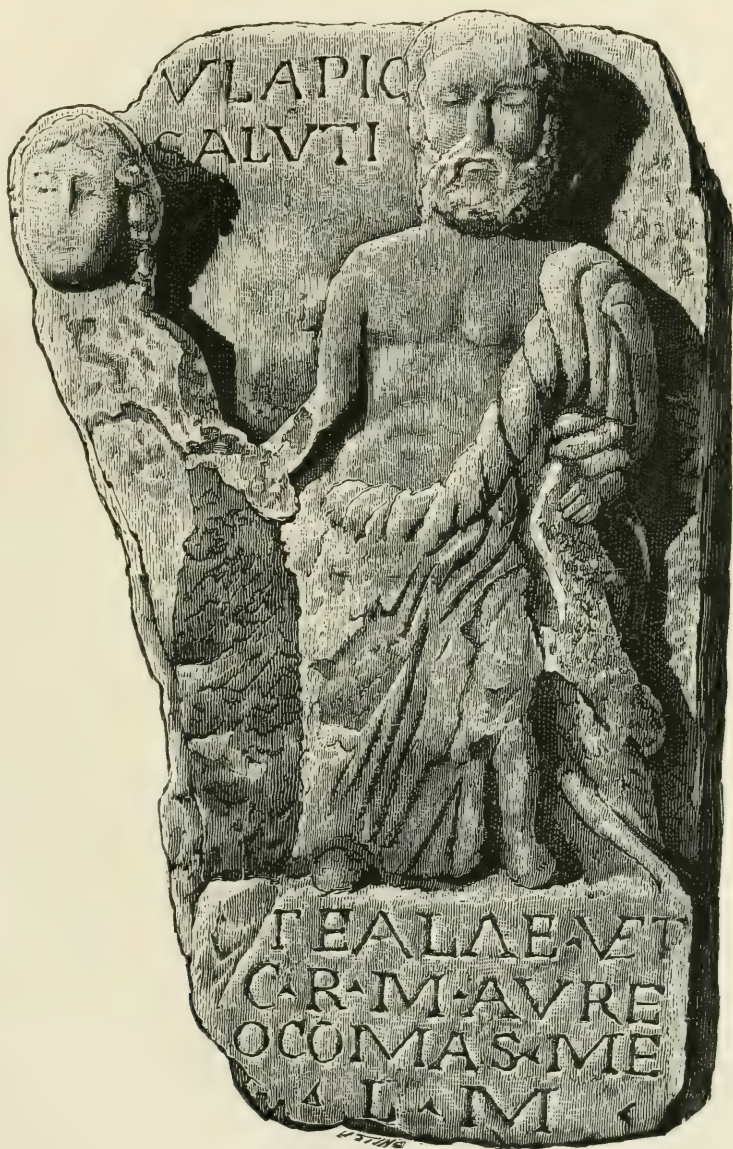
specially interesting character, and each calculated to throw a considerable amount of light upon the old inscriptions. It is an additional matter for regret, therefore, that the old inscriptions cannot now be re-examined in the light of the new ones.

The first of those discovered by Mr. Proud is cut upon a Votive Tablet erected by the Medical Officer attached to the body of troops garrisoning Vinovia, to his gods *Æsculapius* and *Salus*, in grateful acknowledgment of the health and safety which they had enjoyed. The special occasion upon which this tablet was erected we do not know. Probably it was after the successful conclusion of some campaign in which the troops had taken part, possibly with others drawn from other garrison towns in the north of England. The style of the sculpture and of the lettering seems to point to a comparatively early period, possibly as early as the time of Hadrian. The deities are themselves represented upon the stone; the god holding his daughter with his right hand, and with his left clasping a stout staff of wood, around which is twined the symbolical serpent. His robe covers his left shoulder and breast; but his right shoulder and breast are bare. He is represented as grave and thoughtful.

The tablet is not perfect, part of the lower portion of the figure of *Salus* and part of the inscription being broken off; but there is sufficient to enable us to reconstruct the whole of the inscription with the exception of the first syllable of the name of the dedicator. That name ended in *OCOMAS*, and therefore was plainly Greek. Dr. Hübner, of Berlin, to whom an impression of the stone was sent, suggested that the full name might be [HABR]OCOMAS. Our late Vice-President, Dr. Lightfoot, Lord Bishop of Durham, suggested, before he heard Dr. Hübner's conjecture, [CHRYΣ]OCOMAS. Either would suit the space left by the other letters. Suppose we assume the name to have been *Chrysocomas*, then the full inscription will be as follows:

[ÆSC]VLAPIO
[ET] SALVTI
[PRO SALV]TE ALAE . VET
[TONYM] C . R . M . AVRE
[L . CHRYΣ]OCOMAS . ME
[V . S] . L . M

VINOVA.



VOTIVE TABLET TO AESCULAPIUS AND SALUS, ERECTED BY A SURGEON OF THE ROMAN ARMY.

Which, when expanded, reads :

AESCULAPIO
ET SALUTI
PRO SALUTE ALAE VETTONIVM
CIVIVM ROMANORVM
MARCVS AVRELIVS CHRYSOCOMAS MEDICVS
VOTVM SOLVIT LAETVS MERITIS

and translated into English gives the following :

To Æsculapius and Salus,
For the health and safety of the Ala of the Vettonians,
Roman citizens,
Marcus Aurelius [Chrys]ocomas, physician,
Has erected this in due and cheerful performance of his vow.

There are several very interesting points to be noted in connection with this inscription. In the first place, the name of the dedicator is Greek, recalling the fact that most of the medical practitioners in Roman times were of that nationality.¹ In the next place, the inscription seems to indicate that each cohort of infantry or *ala* of cavalry had its own appointed medical officer; that, in fact, the Romans had their army-surgeons as modern armies have. Marcus Aurelius [Chrys]ocomas appears to have been the physician charged with the duty of watching over the health of the Regiment of Vettonian Dragoons who garrisoned Vinovia, both when they were safe in the fortress and when they were abroad on expeditions; and he seems to have been a pious man, recognising that the issues of life were really in higher hands than his own.

But the most important point, perhaps, in connection with the inscription is the information it gives us regarding the troops that held Vinovia. That these were the Vettonian Horse can scarcely be a matter of doubt, for this votive tablet was evidently intended to be a memorial of a permanent kind. It was set up in the immediate vicinity of the *prætorium*, to judge from the place where it was found; and it was of a nature to last a long time. Its erection was probably a matter of policy as well as of gratitude, leading, as it naturally would do,

¹ As a further illustration of this fact, it may be remarked that the name of Luke, "the beloved physician", of the early Christian Church, is likewise Greek.

the Vettonians to think that they were a special care of the deities whose benevolence was acknowledged and commemorated by it.

Now who were the Vettonians? They were a people of the Iberian peninsula, dwelling in what is now the Province of Salamanca, between the rivers Douro and Tagus. They were renowned as horsemen. The Roman poet Lucan calls them, in the fourth book of his *Pharsalia*, "the swift Vettonians"; and Silius Italicus, in the third book of his *Punica Bella*, speaks of them and of the rare qualities of their horses, and of the marvellous manner in which, it was believed, the breed of their horses was maintained. They must have come into Britain at an early period, for they were in the possession of the privileges of Roman citizenship as early as A.D. 104. This is proved by what is known as the Malpas Diploma, in which they are mentioned. It will be observed that this fact entirely accords with the inscription of [Chrys]ocomas. He is careful to note the distinction they enjoyed by the letters C. R. The Vettonians are mentioned also in inscriptions discovered at Bath, at Bowes in Yorkshire, and near Brecon in Wales. The first and last are sepulchral memorials of dead members of the force. The one from Bowes is an altar erected to the goddess Fortune; by whom is not revealed; but it commemorates the fact that the baths at that station having been burned down, were re-erected by the first cohort of the Thracians under the superintendence of the præfect of the cavalry of the *ala* of the Vettonians, Valerius Fronto by name. Bowes is not far from Vinovia, and Valerius Fronto had probably a talent for military architecture and engineering; or possibly he had a wider district under his military superintendence than that which would be furnished by Vinovia alone.

If we look back now to the recorded inscriptions that have unfortunately been lost, we shall find that several of them tally in a remarkable manner with the information given to us by this votive tablet of [Chrys]ocomas. The third line of the second inscription mentioned by Camden, though read by him as MARTI VICTORI, was read by Sir Robert Sibbald as MARTI VETTO, and there was no mention of a Cohort I in Sir Robert's reading. The one

communicated by the Rev. John Farrer to the Rev. Mr. Randall bore in its second line the letters *VERT.*; and the one rescued by Canon Raine, and now at Durham, was erected by a “*Præfectus Equitum*”, or master of the horse. It may also be noted that many horses’ teeth of the Roman period were found in the recent exploration. They are of a different character from the teeth of ordinary English horses of the present day. Whether they are similar to those of horses of a pure Spanish breed of the present day, the writer does not know.

Another interesting inscription found at Vinovia, but now lost, has a bearing upon these points. It was communicated to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in the early part of this century by Mr. Orkney Skene of Durham. It was cut upon a sepulchral monument in the shape of an oblong rectangular tablet, which was affixed probably to the outside of a domed tomb, within which the deceased would lie, enclosed, no doubt, in a stone coffin. It reads thus :

D M S
NEMMONTANVS DEC.
VIXIT ANN . XL . NEM
SANCTVS FR . ET . COHERR
EX TESTAMENTO FECERT

Which, when expanded, would be,—

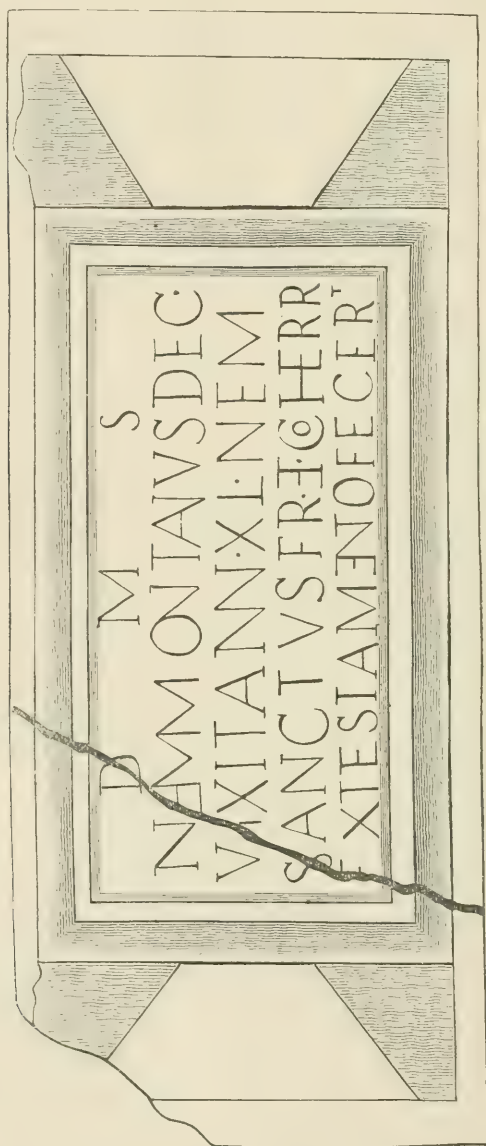
Diis Manibus Sacrum.
Nemesius Montanus Decurio
Vixit annos quadraginta. Nemesius
Sanctus Frater, et Cohæredes,
Ex Testamento fecerunt.

It may be rendered into English thus :

Sacred to the Divine Shades.
Nemesius Montanus, the Decurion,
Lived forty years. Nemesius
Sanctus, his brother, and his coheirs,
Erected this in accordance with the provisions of his will.

The building which the coheirs erected would be the domed tomb. A decurio was an officer of cavalry, and the “will” and the “coheirs” show that the deceased had enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizenship. The ligatures and other peculiarities of the lettering would seem

to indicate that this monument was erected probably in the third century.



The other inscribed stone found by Mr. Proud was an altar. It has suffered much in various ways, and the inscription is well-nigh gone, apparently from exposure

in Roman times. With patience, however, the following was made out :—

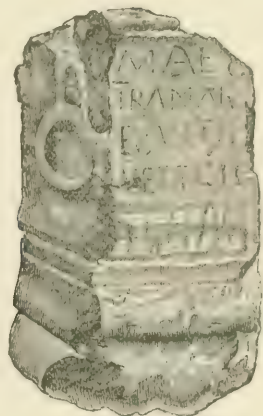
MATR
TRAMAR
EQUIT AL
VETT GR
V S L M

That is to say :

Matribus
Tramarinis
Equites Alæ
Vettonum, Civium Romanorum,
Votum solverunt libentes Meritis.

Or, in English :

To the Goddess Mothers
Across the sea,
The Horsemen of the Ala
Of the Vettonians, Roman Citizens,
Have erected this in due and cheerful performance of a vow.

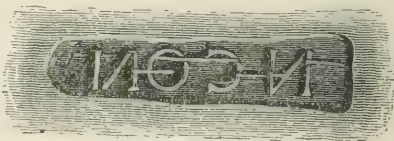


The confirmation this gives to the conclusion arrived at from the Votive Tablet, that the Vettonian cavalry formed the standing garrison of Vinovia, is obvious at once ; but the dedication itself also offers points of great interest. It is “to the Goddess Mothers”. On looking back to the old inscriptions we shall find the two given by Horsley are both dedicated to “Mothers”; and we shall probably suspect that the first one given by Camden, commencing, both according to Camden and according to Sibbald, with the letters TRIB, was dedicated to “Mothers” likewise.

With regard to the special epithet of “the Mother Goddesses”, “*Transmarine*”, it is worthy of note that, as far as the writer is aware, only four similar dedications have yet been found in England, so that the Binchester example makes but the fifth. All have been found in the north of England, viz., at Plumpton in Cumberland, at Lowther in Westmorland, at Risingham in Northumberland, and at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Two of them were dedicated by companies of soldiers ; two of them by individuals. Three of them insert the word DEABVS before MATRIBVS ; but one, the Risingham example, omits it, as the Binchester altar does.

The Roman stations in the north of England often

reveal the nationality and the special designation of the bands of soldiers by whom they were first erected. This is through the medium of the stamps the Romans were in the habit of impressing upon the bricks and tiles they used in the construction of their buildings. Vinovia formed no exception to their general practice ; but the signification of the stamp used at Vinovia is more difficult to discover than is usually the case. It is seen on the bricks of the square hypocaust beneath the *prætorium (in situ)*, and it was found on bricks, etc., in other parts of the station.



The order of the letters it contains is reversed ; that is to say, they must be read from right to left. The accompanying engraving gives a good, though not an exact, idea of its appearance ; for the right hand *n* has a well-marked horizontal line above it, signifying that it indicates a number of some kind ; and the lines of the left hand *n* are disjoined, though not at the lower but at the upper angle.¹ The reading of the stamp appears certainly to be *N COX*, though some have suggested, from the disjoining of the lines of the left hand *N* at the upper angle, that it should be read *N COIV*. In either case, the first letter *N* with the horizontal line above it stands evidently for the word *NUMERVS*, which appears to signify a company or troop, and is often used in a military sense, though apparently not with the definiteness of such words as *cohors*, *ala*, *turma*, etc.

With regard to the latter part of the stamp, the writer does not know any nation, or tribe, or town, the citizens, or natives, or inhabitants of which could be described by a word commencing with the letters *COIV* ; but there are no fewer than six whose designation might begin with the letters *COX*. Of these, two, the Concordienses and the Consaburenses, dwelt in or very near to the Vettonian country in Spain ; and to one of these, therefore, it may very probably be thought the abbreviation belongs. In connection with this, the inscription on the altar, de-

¹ Further examination has shown that some of the stamps have the lines of the *N* disjoined at the upper, and some at the lower angle, thus proving that the lettering must signify *N*, and not *IV*.

scribed by the Rev. John Farrer, may recur to mind; and it may well be thought that the third line indicates the same body of men that is commemorated on the tiles. The first line was probably *SVLEVIS*; and the whole inscription expanded would be

SVLEVIS
VETTONES
CONSABVRENSES
(or Concordienses)
VOIVM SOLVERVNT LIBENTES MERITIS.

The Sulevæ appear to have been deities of the woods, and if the company of the Vettonians from Consabrum (or Concordia) were the first to encamp on the heights of Binchester, to stake out a fortress, and to erect its buildings in the midst of the forest, it would be quite natural for them to vow an altar to the rural deities they believed surrounded them, which they would erect to those deities if they were permitted by them to accomplish their work with speed and safety.

We may note that there is a remarkable echo from the hill on which Vinovia stands, as one approaches it through the Bishop's Park, through which, in all probability, the Roman road to it ran from the south.

One other altar found at Binchester, but now lost, remains to be mentioned. It was a specially interesting one, for it bore upon it the name of the station. The inscription upon it is given, in Dr. Bruce's *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, as running thus:

..... MANDVS
EX . C . FRIS
VINOVIE
V . S . L . M

That is:

... . [A]mandus ex Cuneo Frisiavonium Vinoviensium Votum solvit libens Merito (or Meritis).

The name of the deity or deities to whom the altar was erected had disappeared. What remains of the inscription is, in English,—

Amandus, a Soldier of the Cuneus of the Frisiavonians, of Vinovia, has duly and cheerfully paid his vow.

We are here introduced to soldiers of another nationality, serving at Vinovia; and not only so, but appa-

rently permanently located there. The full explanation it may not be possible to give; but it is remarkable that two other almost precisely similar examples occur in connection with two other north country stations, and in relation to the same people, the Frisiavonians.

Aballaba, one of the stations "per lineam Valli", was garrisoned, the *Notitia* informs us, by a detachment of Moors called "Aureliani". Nevertheless, at Cockermouth Castle an inscription was found in 1866 making mention of the "Frisiavonians of Aballaba"; and the name used to denote their military strength and character is the same. They are called "Cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium".

The other example was brought to light in 1883, at Housesteads, on the Roman Wall. That station was garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Tungrians. Nevertheless an altar was found there, about seven years ago, erected to Mars and certain other deities, by soldiers of the "Cuneus of the Frisiavonians of Verlutio."

Now if we inquire into the previous military history of this people we find that early in the history of the Roman occupation of Britain they were present in this country in considerable numbers. "Cohors Prima Frisiavonum" (the First Cohort of the Frisiavonians) is commemorated both in the Sydenham and the Rivington Diplomas, and in inscriptions found in Manchester and in Derbyshire. We meet also with "Equites Frisiavonum" at Exeter, and with "Frisiavones" at Silchester.

Later, it would seem, from these Vinovian, Cockermouth, and Housesteads inscriptions, that they were dispersed in smaller bodies through the country. Can it be that their cohorts were, in process of time, for some reason of policy or discipline, broken up, and the fragments of them sent to various centres, to remain at them permanently, either as reinforcements of the regular garrisons holding those posts, or to take the place of the larger bodies of troops formerly stationed in them, but now possibly withdrawn through the pressure of military necessities elsewhere? In any case the facts already disclosed cannot but be regarded as possessing points of very considerable interest.

Besides the tiles stamped as described above, one was

found, in the room over the square hypocaust, evidently of a considerably later date than the rest, stamped M.P.P. The significance of these letters we have not discovered. The late Mr. Thompson Watkin, of Liverpool, thought they might mean MANV P... P...

We have now described all the lapidary inscriptions,¹ and those stamped upon tiles, that are known to have been found during the last few centuries at Vinovia. There are still, however, others in existence which had their origin in the same famous garrison-town.

Soon after the exploration of Vinovia, attention was drawn to the extremely ancient and interesting church of Escombe, situated about two miles higher up the river Wear, on the same side of it as Vinovia. This church was, at the time of the exploration of Vinovia, a ruin, without roof or floor. Externally and internally it had been covered with rough-cast plaster; but this had peeled off in many places, through the influence of age and weather. When those familiar with the Roman stones of Vinovia saw it, they perceived that it was built of the same material; that, in fact, Vinovia had been the quarry from which all its stones had been drawn. Interest was excited, money was raised, and Escombe Church was thoroughly repaired and restored. It was then seen that innumerable stones bore the diamond-broaching of the Roman chisels, and that not a few had once borne inscriptions or sculptures.

Built up in the north wall, on the outside, is an altar showing the sculptured patera, and not far from it is the inscription, still plainly legible, though upside down, LEG VI. This memorial of the Sixth Legion is specially interesting as indicating its presence at Vinovia, as at so many other places in the north. It was probably this Legion, under Hadrian, who brought it first into Britain, that made the great road on which Vinovia is situated, and possibly built the ramparts of the fortress of Vinovia, leaving the erection of the *Prætorium* and other buildings to the Company of the Vettonians of Consabrum.

¹ One more must be noted. On a stone in the inner face of the rampart, above the culvert described in vol. xliii, pp. 117, 118, is cut a milliary mark with the letters EX above it, to the right. The meaning of this inscription is not apparent.

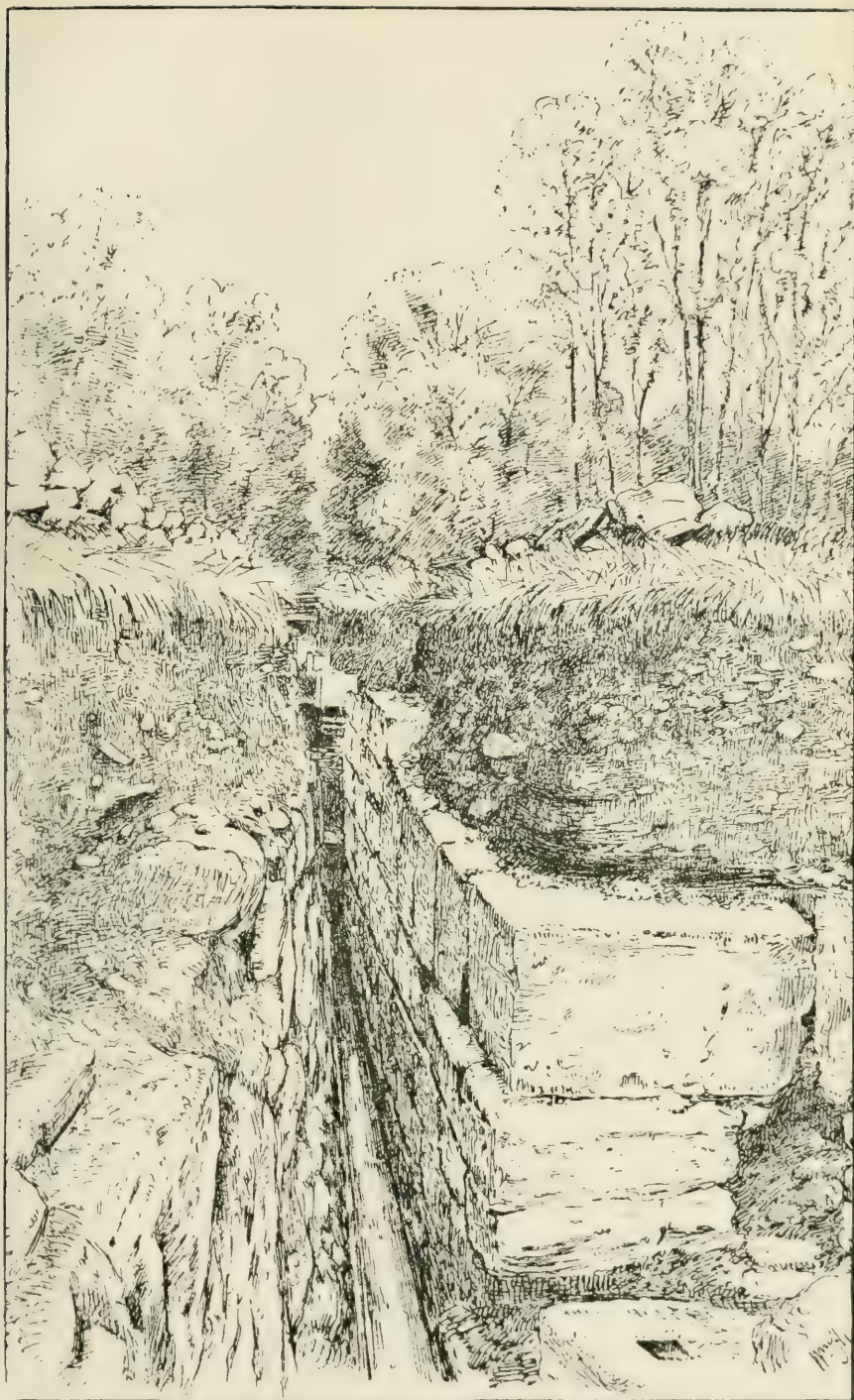
Inside the church of Escombe are fragments of two other inscriptions, one reading L, the other LINI; and there is a much longer one, much weathered, so that all hope of effectually deciphering it has long since been given up. Two lines of it appear to have been on the stone bearing it, which is 18 ft. above the present floor of the church. The first three letters of the second line appear to have been VIM.

Of statuary, apart from inscriptions, several fragments have been found, particularly the lower part of the figure of a Roman soldier, shown with other fragments, and with a broken millstone, in the accompanying plate. The upper part also of a statue of Flora was found. This latter derived special interest from the peculiar position in which it was found, and its attendant circumstances. It furnished, to the writer's mind, an irrefragable evidence of the wide-spread extension of the Christian religion in Britain during the latter part of the Roman occupation of the land.



It has been already explained at p. 303, vol. xliii, that the large and fine building heated by the splendid square hypocaust, which still remains, was diverted from its original use as the *prætorium*, or residence of some other high official, after the first great destruction and restoration of Vinovia, and that it was devoted to the purpose of public baths.

It has also been stated that a drain was laid from what was then converted into the *caldarium*, or hot room, across an intervening courtyard to the street. Now at some subsequent period this courtyard was paved, and the pavement was placed at a higher level than the drain. The drain was made of deeply channeled stones. To keep the pavement above it at the right level, large blocks of stone were laid upon it, beneath which the water from the bath could flow, and on the upper sides of which the paving stones could rest. In seeking suitable blocks of stone for this purpose, Flora came in the way, and the statue, which had, no doubt, once graced



BUILDINGS AND STONE CHANNELLING ON WEST SIDE OF WATLING STREET.

an altar at which offerings were frequently made to the once popular deity, was degraded to this ignominious use. Her legs were knocked off, and she was laid face downwards across the drain, and she bore on her back for fifteen centuries, till relieved by Mr. Proud's workman, a huge, flat paving stone. When the writer saw it, he could not but be reminded forcibly of some words of the prophet Jeremiah respecting a once powerful but afterwards degraded and insulted king, "Is this man Coniah a despised, broken idol?" The conquering troops of a successful, invading sovereign broke and poured insults on the images of the deities of their defeated enemies; doubtless by way of honouring and magnifying the deities they themselves worshipped; and the desperate plight in which our Vinovian Flora was found, spoke to our eyes more clearly than any words could have spoken to our ears, that the promulgators of the religion of Jesus of Nazareth had been there, and that as a consequence the idols of the old Vettonian Consaburenses, and of their masters, the Romans from Italy, had been altogether "abolished".¹

The same fact of the general spread of Christianity throughout the Vinovian district, and, indeed, throughout Britain, while the Romans were still in full possession of the country, was attested by a coin found on the threshold of one of the doors of this same large building. It bore on its obverse the head of the Emperor Magnentius, and on its reverse the Christian monogram, with the letters Alpha and Omega in the angles of the monogram, and around the border the legend, *SALVS DOMINORVM NOSTRORVM AVGVSTORVM ET CAESARVM*. The whole arrangement, therefore, signified "Christ, the Alpha and Omega, is the salvation of our Sovereign Lords and Cæsars." Such coins of Magnentius are not uncommon; they have been found in many parts of England. They prove conclusively, to the writer's mind, the Christian character of the country, for what was the object of Magnentius in choosing such a device for his coinage? It was, undoubtedly, to recommend himself to the populations of the West as a champion of Christianity; and this he evidently conceived he could do in no better way than by

¹ Isaiah, ii, 18.

affirming his belief in the Lord Jesus, his recognition of the Scriptural doctrines respecting him, and his firm reliance upon Jesus of Nazareth for protection, succour, and salvation, both in temporal and eternal matters. But what would this profession of faith have availed him if those to whom it constantly appealed were not themselves Christians? Moreover, they must have been Christians of an advanced type, else the pregnant though not very obvious quotation from St. John's Book of the Revelation would have been lost upon them.

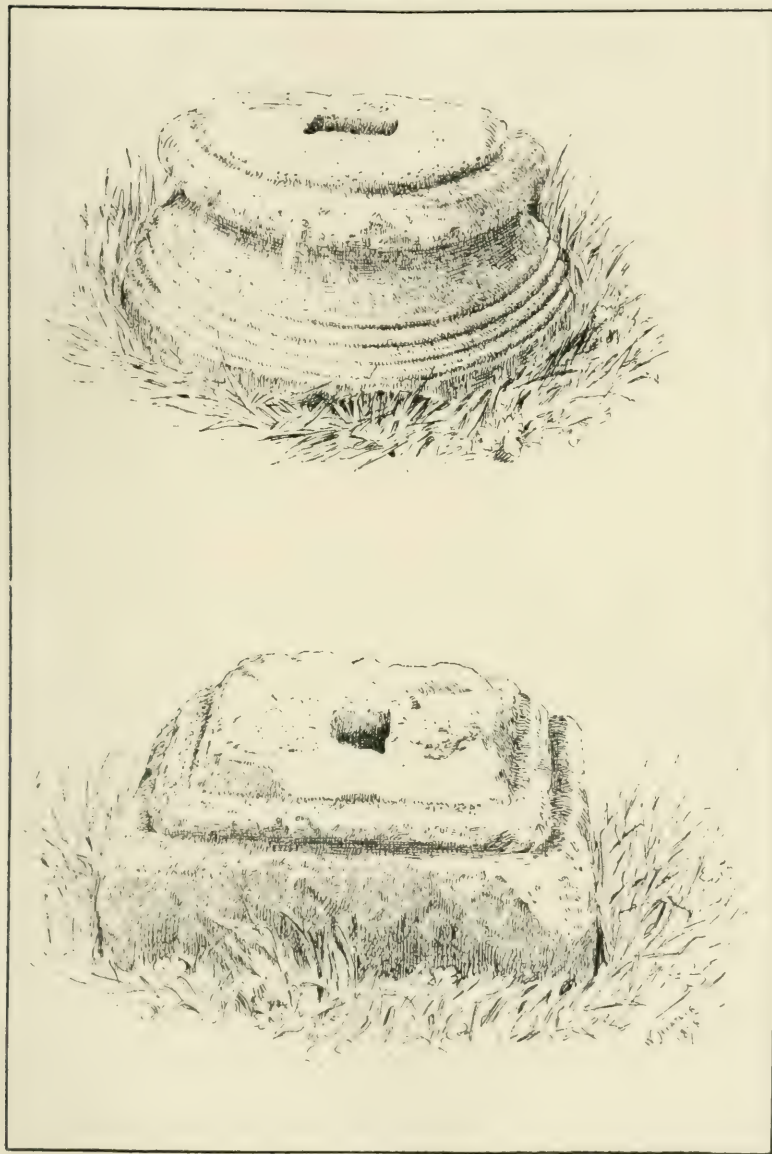
Before entirely quitting the subject of sculptured stones, it may be remarked that Hutchinson, in his *History of Durham*, vol. iii, p. 346, tells of one which was in evidence at Vinovia for a long time, but is now entirely lost. It is mentioned by Cade in a letter to Dr. Kaye, Dean of Lincoln, in the MSS. of Mr. Gyll, who saw it in 1757, and it appears to have been seen by Hutchinson himself. It is described as "a stone consisting of six sides nearly square; on one side a bold figure of Priapus in basso relievo; one of the sides sloping to a narrower square at the top, where a hole was cut as a mortice to receive the foot or stem of some statue." Some time before Hutchinson saw it, it had been in use as a weight for a cheese-press; but had recently been rejected from a notion that ill luck attended its use, and that the cheese pressed by it was spoiled.

Two remarkable bases of columns were found, drawings of which are reproduced in the annexed Plate. One was circular, the other rectangular. The mouldings in each case were of a rounded character, and very bold.

A pair of very perfect millstones, of Andernach tufa, were found. They were discovered at the foot of the cliff on which Vinovia stood, close to the river. How they came there can only be conjectured. Many fragments of pottery were found at the same time in close proximity to them. Representations of them are given in the accompanying Plate. A drawing of another, broken into many fragments, has been given in a preceding Plate.

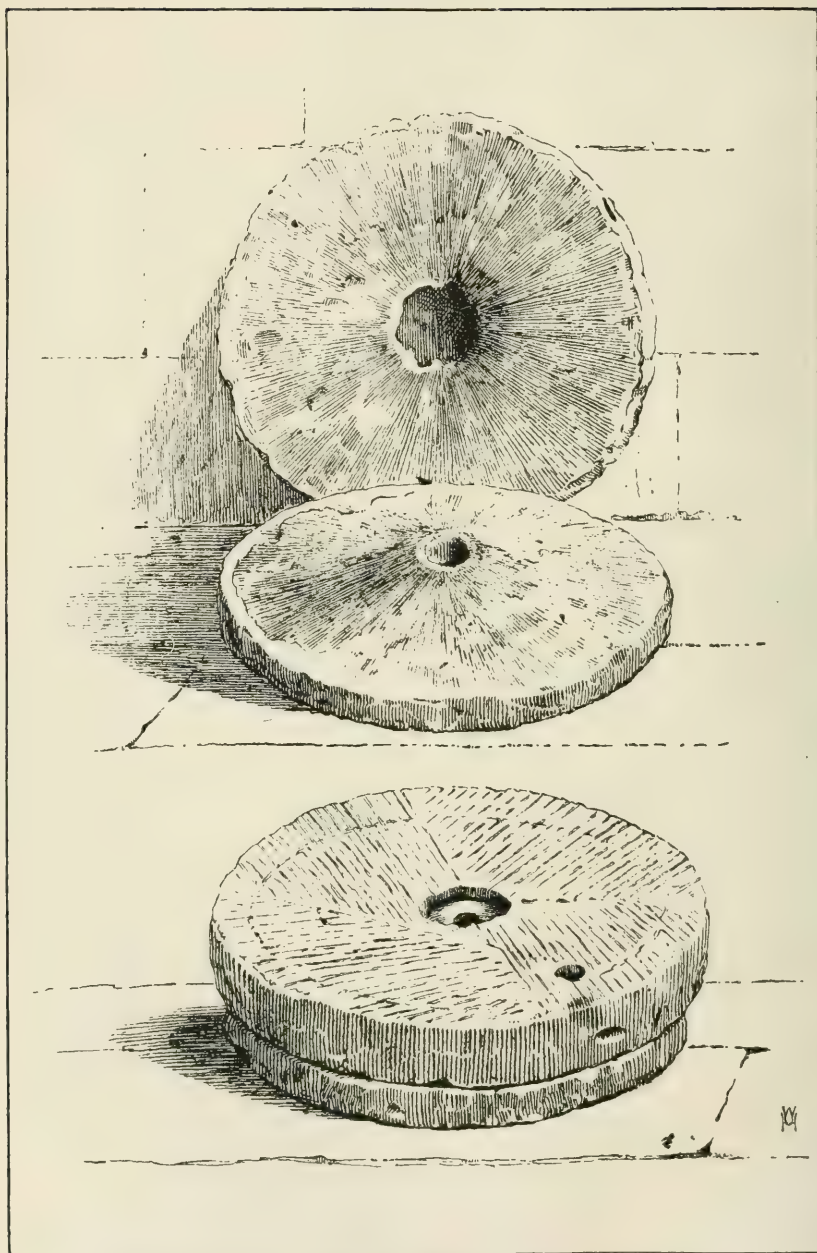
The various stamps on the bricks and tiles have been described. One brick exhibited Roman writing. Some one, while the clay was soft, had written on it, *currente calamo*, the following letters, ARMEAMI DCCVII. The pur-

VINOVIA.



BASES OF COLUMNS.

VINOVIA.



MILLSTONES OF ANDERNACH TUFFA.

port seems to be that a person called ARMEAMVS had made, up to that point, seven hundred and seven bricks.

Several pieces of Samian ware and other kinds of pottery were found, with portions of names and other symbols scratched upon them. The following is a complete list of these inscriptions as far as it has been possible to decipher them :

PIE
L
I AHH
VSDOM
VIXILATI
III
VI
V
X
I I I I I I I I
X VI

The accompanying Plate of fragments of embossed Samian ware shows one of these scratched inscriptions on the uppermost piece.

Of coins, three hundred and thirty-six were collected in the course of Mr. Proud's exploration. None of these was gold. Thirty-three were *denarii*, or apparently intended to pass as *denarii*; three were not Roman, while several were rude imitations of Roman coins; the rest were bronze. The great majority were of the later princes: thus two hundred and fifty-two of the whole number were Roman coins of Constantius I and the princes who followed him, while there were only eighty-one coins of all the princes and princesses that preceded him. The earliest coin found was a second brass of Claudius; the latest coins were two of Valentinian I. There is reason to think that more coins were found of this period, but the writer has not succeeded thus far in effectually tracing them for the purposes of identification and description. A small bronze coin of Gratian has been found since.

In former times it would seem that many *denarii* were found at Vinovia. Leland says: "In the plowed fields hard by this village (Binchester) hath and be found Roman coins and other many tokens of antiquity." Camden says Binchester is "much took notice of by the neighbors thereabouts for the Roman coins often

dug up in it, which they call Binchester pennies." Now in and previous to Camden's time there were no English pennies made of copper or bronze. English pennies were, up to his time, only made of silver: hence it would seem the "Binchester pennies" must have been Roman *denarii*. Possibly occasionally a hoard was found either in an urn or in the remains of a box, as has not unfrequently been the case on other Roman sites. No such prize, however, has presented itself, as far as the writer is aware, at Binchester in these later years. According to Cade, in his letter to Dr. Kaye, Farrer Wren, the former proprietor of Binchester, possessed, in his Collection of Binchester antiquities, "a variety of silver and copper coins, both of the Upper and Lower Empire, to the time of Valentinian and Theodosius"; and Hutchinson adds to this, that Mr. Wren had "among them one or more coins of Julius Cæsar."

As detailed descriptions of specific finds of coins are always valuable, the writer will proceed to give a particular though concise account of those found by Mr. Proud. Where nothing is stated with regard to the reverse, it must be understood that the coin was too much worn by use, or decayed through age, for the reverse to be satisfactorily distinguished. It must also be understood that the first, second, and third bronze coins of the Lower Empire are all very greatly inferior in size to the corresponding denominations of the Upper Empire.

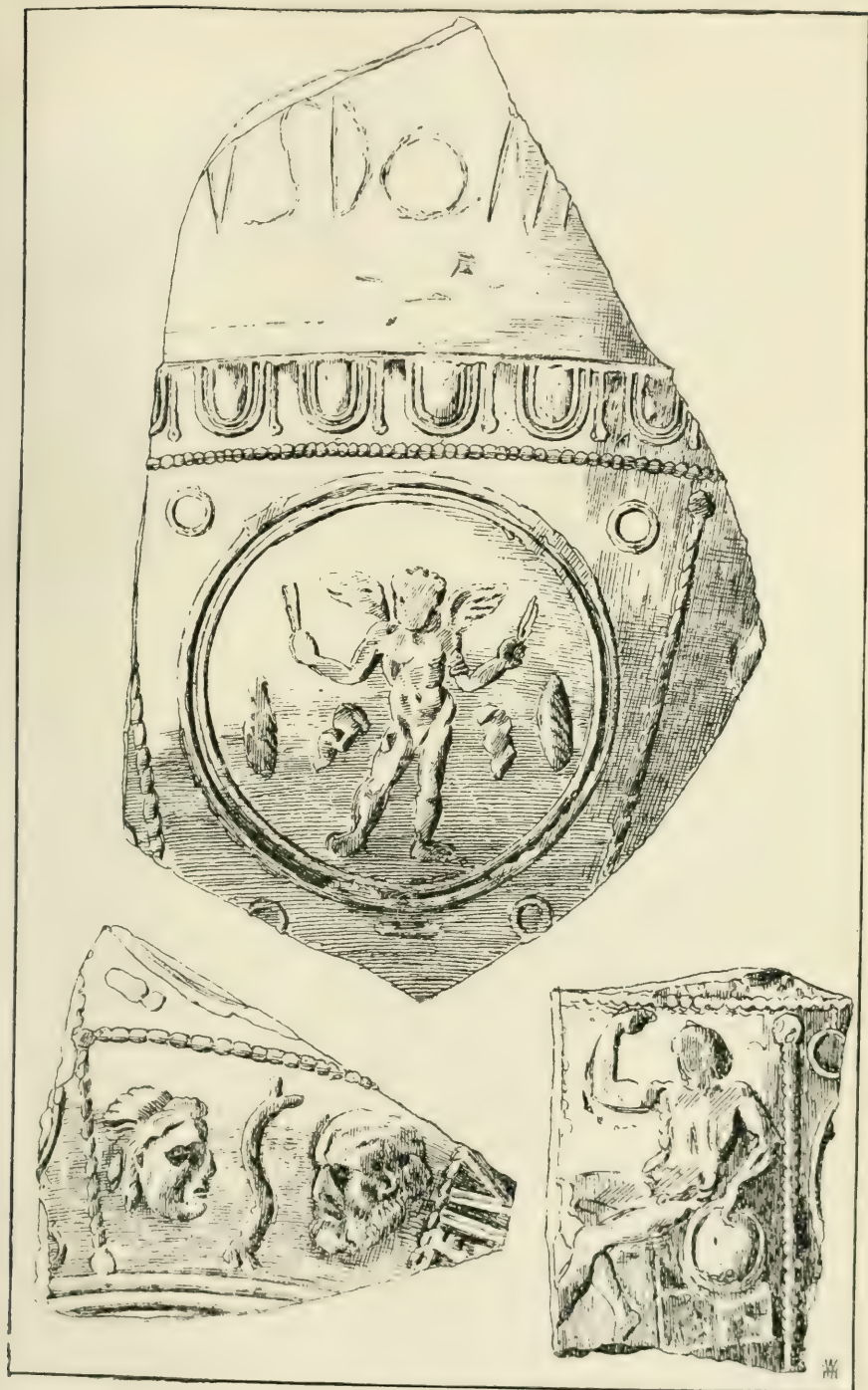
No.	Denomn.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	2	Claudius . . .	
2	2	Vespasian . . .	Pax Aug. S.C.
3	2	Vespasian . . .	(A standing figure)
4-6	2	Vespasian . . .	
7	Den.	Titus . . .	Tr. P. ix Imp xv. Cos viii P. P.
8, 9	1	Domitian . . .	
10	2	Domitian . . .	Fortunae Augusti S.C
11	2	Domitian . . .	
12	2	Nerva . . .	S.C.
13	Den.	Trajan . . .	Cos V P P S P Q R Optimo
14	Den.	Trajan . . .	[Princ
15	Den.	Trajan . . .	S.P.Q.R. Optimo Principi
16	Den.	Trajan . . .	
17	1	Trajan . . .	Providentia Augusti S.P.Q.R. (female figure with sceptre in hand, and globe at feet) S.C.

VINOVA.



FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY.

VINOVA.



FRAGMENTS OF EMBOSSED SAMIAN WARE.

No.	Denomn.	Obverse.	Reverse.
18	1	Trajan . . .	
19,23	2	Trajan . . .	
24	Den.	Hadrian . . .	
25	1	Hadrian . . .	Adventui Aug Mauretaniae. S.C.
26	1	Hadrian . . .	Justitia Aug Cos III P.P. S.C.
27-33	1	Hadrian . . .	
34,35	2	Hadrian . . .	
36	Den.	Sabina . . .	Ivnoni Reginae
37	Den.	Antoninus Pius . . .	Aurelius Caesar Aug Pii F. Cos.
38	1	Antoninus Pius . . .	Tr Pot Cos II S.C. Pax
39	1	Antoninus Pius . . .	S.C.
40,41	1	Antoninus Pius . . .	
42	2	Antoninus Pius . . .	
43	2	Antoninus Pius . . .	(An extremely rude coin)
44	Den.	Faustina Senior . . .	
45	2	Faustina Senior . . .	
46	Den.	Marcus Aurelius . . .	
47	Den.	Marcus Aurelius . . .	(Broken)
48	1	Marcus Aurelius . . .	
49	2	Marcus Aurelius . . .	Tr Pot VIII Cos II. S.C. (A female figure before an altar)
50	2	Faustina Junior . . .	S.C.
51	2	Faustina Junior . . .	
52	1	Verus . . .	Concord Augustor Tr P II Cos II S.C.
53	1	Commodus . . .	Tr P VII
54	1	Clodius Albinus . . .	S.C.
55	Den.	Severus . . .	Restitutor Orbis
56	Den.	Severus . . .	Victoria
57	Den.	Severus . . .	
58	Den.	Julia Domna . . .	
59	Den.	Caracalla . . .	Victoria Germ
60	2	Caracalla . . .	S.C.
61	Den.	Geta . . .	
62	1	Elagabalus . . .	Adventus Augusti. S.C.
63	Den.	Severus Alexanderii Cos P.P.
64	Den.	Julia Mamaea . . .	Vesta
65	Den.	Philip I . . .	Principii
66	1	Philip I . . .	Saeculum ...
67	Den.	Valerian . . .	Concordia Milit
68	Den.	Valerian . . .	
69	Den.	Gallienus . . .	N
70	Den.	Salonina . . .	
71	Den.	Victorinus . . .	
72	2	Victorinus . . .	V.X.
73,74	3	Victorinus . . .	
75	2	Tetricus Senior . . .	Salus Augg

No.	Denomn.	Obverse.	Reverse.
76	2	Tetricus Senior .	Salus Aug
77	3	Tetricus Senior .	
78	2	Tetricus Junior .	
79	Den.	Claudius Gothicus	Aug
80	2	Claudius Gothicus	Providentia ...
81	2	Claudius Gothicus	Fides Exerci...
82	2	Constantius I .	Virtus Exere
83	2	Constantius I Reparatio
84	2	Constantius I .	TR . P.
85-87	2	Constantius I .	
88-90	3	Constantius I .	Gloria Exercitus
91	3	Constantius I .	.. Dd Augg. nn
92,93	3	Constantius I .	
94	3	Helena . .	Pietas Romana TR.P.
95,96	3	Helena . .	Pax Publica TR.P.
97	3	Helena . .	TR.P
98-102	3	Helena . .	
103-105	3	Theodora . .	Pietas Romana
106,107	3	Theodora . .	
108	1	Galerius Maximia-	Genio Populi Romani
109	2	Maximinus [nus	
110	2	Licinius . .	Soli Invicto Comiti. . T.E.*
111-113	2	Licinius . .	
114-116	2	Valens . .	Securitas Reipublicae . Con
117	1	Constantine I .	Soli Invicto Comiti P.LN
118	1	Constantine I .	Soli Invicto Comiti
119	2	Constantine I .	Virtus Exercit. VOT. XX (on banner surmounted with cross) PLN
120	2	Constantine I .	Virtus Exercit. VOTIS XX (on banner) .R.
121,122	2	Constantine I .	Beata Tranquillitas VOTIS XX (on altar) S TR
123,124	2	Constantine I .	Beata Tranquillitas VOTIS XX (on altar) PTR
125	2	Constantine I .	Beata Tranquillitas VOTIS XX (on altar) PLR
126	2	Constantine I .	Beata Tranquillitas VOTIS XX (on altar)
127	2	Constantine I .	Beata Tranquillitas
128	2	Constantine I .	Sarmatia Devicta PNR
129	2	Constantine I .	Sarmatia Devicta
130	2	Constantine I .	Victoria VOT PN (within a wreath) PTN
131	2	Constantine I .	Victoria VOT PN (within a wreath)
132	2	Constantine I .	A wreath
133		Constantine I .	Providentiae Augg. (gate of camp) P. Tr

No.	Denomn.	Obverse.	Reverse.
134	3	Constantine I	Gloria Exercitus P. Const.
135,136	3	Constantine I	Gloria Exercitus
137	3	Constantine I	... Princ... VOT PF (within a wreath) PLN
138,139	3	Constantine I	(Two robed figures with a pillar between them)
140	3	Constantine I	
141	2	Urbs Roma	Palm-branch between two stars TRP
142	2	Urbs Roma	Palm-branch between two stars
143	2	Urbs Roma	Wreath between two stars
144	2	Urbs Roma	Two stars TRS
145	2	Urbs Roma	Two stars TRP
146	2	Urbs Roma	Two stars * P . . *
147	2	Urbs Roma	Two stars. A wreath between the letters PN
148	2	Urbs Roma	Two stars. SA . .
149,150	2	Urbs Roma	Two stars
151	2	Urbs Roma	One star PNR
152	2	Urbs Roma	Gloria Exercitus TR
153	3	Urbs Roma	Two stars PLG
154	3	Urbs Roma	Two stars . P .
155-159	3	Urbs Roma	Two stars
160	3	Urbs Roma	One star . . G
161,162	3	Urbs Roma	
163	? den.	Crispus	Beata Tranquillitas VOTIS XX (on altar) P. LON
164	2	Crispus	Caesarum Nostorum VOT X (in wreath) STR
165	2	Crispus	Beata Tranquillitas VOTIS XX (on altar) STR
166	2	Crispus	Beata Tranquillitas VOTIS XX (on altar) PLG
167-169	2	Crispus	Beata Tranquillitas VOTIS XX (on altar)
170	2	Crispus	
171	2	Constantine II	Gloria Exercitus TRP
172	2	Constantine II	Caesarum Nostorum VOT X (within wreath) ASIS
173	2	Constantine II	Caesarum Nostorum VOT X (within wreath) PTR
174	2	Constantine II	Caesarum Nostorum VOT X (within wreath) PLON
175	2	Constantine II	Caesarum Nostorum VOT X (within wreath)
176,177	2	Constantine II	Beata Tranquillitas VOTIS XX (on altar) PLON

No.	Denomn.	Obverse.	Reverse.
178	2	Constantine II	Beata Tranquillitas VOTIS XX (on altar)
179	2	Constantine II P LON
180	2	Constantine II (an altar) ...
181-184	3	Constantine II	Gloria Exercitus PLG
185	3	Constantine II	Gloria Exercitus PNR
186	3	Constantine II	Gloria Exercitus PRS
187-197	3	Constantine II	Gloria Exercitus
198	3	Constantine II	TRS
199	3	Constantine II	
200	2	Constans	TRS
201	3	Constans	Gloria Exercitus TRS
202-204	3	Constans	Gloria Exercitus
205	3	Constans	(Figure with shield and spear; also the Christian symbol, the Chi-Rho) s CONST
206	3	Constans	(Figure with spear in right hand)
207	3	Constans	TRP
208, 209	3	Constans	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn TRS
210	3	Constans	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn M TRS
211	3	Constans	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn x
212-219	3	Constans	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn D TRP
220	3	Constans	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn (A palm-branch) TRE
221-223	3	Constans	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn (A palm-branch) ...
224	3	Constans	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn PLG
225	3	Constans	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn TRE
226-230	3	Constans	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn ...
231	? den.	One of the Constantine family	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn . M.
232	? den.	One of the C. fam.	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn
233	? den.	One of the C. fam.	Gloria Exercitus S..
234	? den.	One of the C. fam.	... VOTIS XX (on altar)
235-237	3	One of the C. fam.	Victoriae Dd Augg Q Nn
238-242	3	One of the C. fam.	Victoriae, etc. (a spear's point)
243	3	One of the C. fam.	Victoriae, etc. M. R.
244-266	3	One of the C. fam.	Gloria Exercitus ...
267-274	3	One of the C. fam.	(Reverses indistinguishable)
275-278	2	Constantinopolis (head left)	(A figure with shield and spear, winged, in ship) TRP
279	2	Constantinopolis (head right)	(Winged figure) TRS
280	2	Constantinopolis (h. l.)	(Winged figure with shield and spear) PLG

No.	Denomn.	Obverse.	Reverse.
281,282	2	Constantinopolis (h. l.)	(Winged figure with shield and spear) ...
283,284	3	Constantinopolis (h. l.)	(Winged fig. with sh. and sp. on ship) PLG
285,286	3	Constantinopolis (h. l.)	(Winged fig. with sh. and sp. on ship) TRP
287	3	Constantinopolis (h. l.)	(Winged fig. with sh. and sp. on ship). TRS
288,289	3	Constantinopolis (h. l.)	(Winged fig. with sh. and sp. on ship) ...
290-292	2	Constantius II .	(Apparently two horsemen, one prostrate)
293	3	Constantius II .	(Of "Gloria Exercitus" type)
294	3	Populus Romanus	(Apparently a bridge of boats)
295	1	Magnentius .	(Christian monogram, with Alpha and Omega, in the angles of the Chi-Rho) Sa- lus Dd Nn Aug et Caes.. P
296	2	Magnentius .	(Apparently of the "Victo- riae", etc., type)
297	2	Magnentius .	(Apparently) Fructus Rei- publicæ A. TRP
298		Decentius . .	Victoriae Dd·Nn Aug et Caes (Two Victories standing, holding up a buckler, on which are the letters) VOT V MVLX X
299	2	Decentius . .	v.... Aug et Caes VOT V VIT X (in wreath) S V . LG
300	2	Valentinian I CONS
301	2	Valentinian I .	
302	3	Gratian . .	
303	3	A rude imitation, ap- parently, of a coin of one of the Tetrici	GFS...S
304	3	A rude imit. (simi- lar to preceding)	
305	3	Rude imit., appa- rently, of a coin of Constantine Jun.	Gloria Exercitus
306	Very small	Head left . .	(Winged or loose-robed figure with spear)
307	Mini- mus	Undecipherable .	
308,309	Not Roman	No marking visible	(Thin laminæ with holes)
310	Not Roman	H. l., within ring ; round it,...S XIII.D.	
311-336	Various	Undecipherable	Illegible

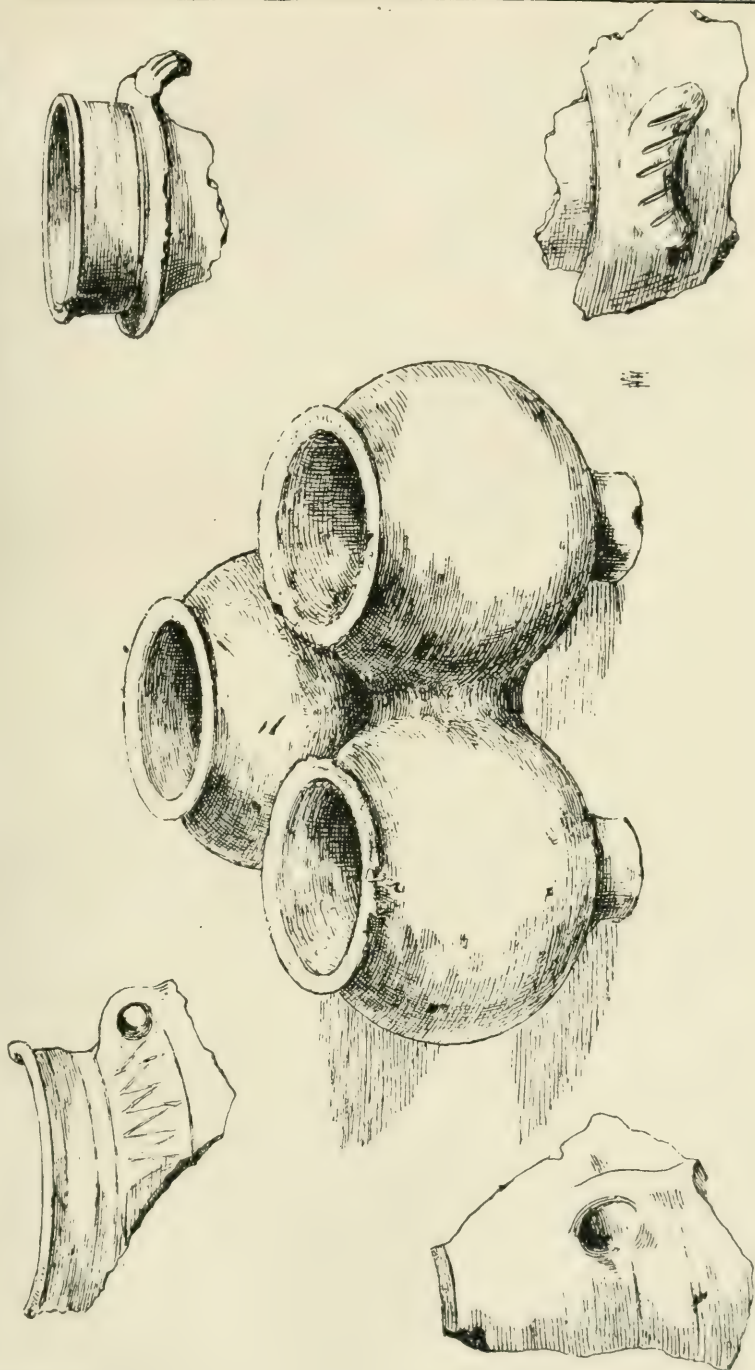
Besides the above, thirteen fragments of coins were found, of which it would be very difficult to give any more specific description.

As in the case of all other indisputable Roman stations, an immense quantity of pottery in fragments was discovered. All the usual types were largely represented. There were pieces of *amphoræ*, of *mortaria*, of elegantly embossed Samian ware bowls, of plainer Samian ware vessels, of vases, jars, cups, pans, saucers, etc., of bright black ware, of thin brown ware, of brick-red, and other kinds of earthenware. Some of the more interesting of these are represented on the accompanying Plates; but some, which are not shown on them, deserve special mention.

At the bottom of the well (described on p. 114 of vol. xliii of the *Journal*) was found a very curious round vase of a small size, ornamented with spiral ribwork running in parallel lines from the base to the lip. Elsewhere was found the upper part of a jug, representing the head and face of a handsome female, with three spots purposely placed upon the features; one on the forehead, the others on the cheeks. The ornamentation of the vase seemed to indicate Keltic influence; the spots on the face, which adorned the jug, a tendency to Eastern feeling. The writer does not know whether similar markings have been discovered elsewhere on Roman fictile or other productions; but one has heard of the devotees of certain deities in Eastern lands receiving marks on their faces, and one is reminded of several passages in Holy Scripture, notably of Deut. xxxii, 5, and of Rev. xiv, 1 and 9.



Another very interesting object found was the triple vase represented on one of the plates. Its use seems evidently to have been to hold flowers, placed in water, for there are holes on the inside, from vase to vase; so that, if water were poured into one, it would rise to the same level in the others.



TRIPLE VASE, AND FRAGMENTS SHOWING VARIOUS FORMS OF HANDLES AND HOLES FOR SUSPENSION.

In the same Plate on which the triple vase is represented there are two fragments of jars which were evidently intended to be suspended from a shelf or from the ceiling. They have ears, at a distance down from the rim, pierced for strings; and without doubt the perfect vessels had corresponding pierced projections on their opposite sides.

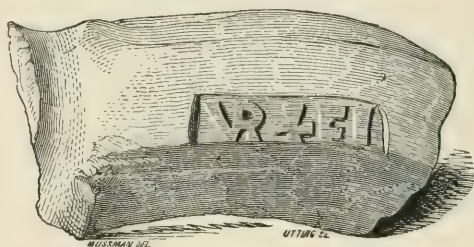
Besides the pottery described or referred to above, a quantity of very coarse, black, and blackish grey pottery was found, which it would seem must certainly have been made on the spot because of its coarseness and roughness. Some of the older antiquaries were of opinion that there was a manufactory of the so-called Samian ware at Vinovia, and it would seem that AMANDVS was thought to have been the name of the proprietor; but no evidence confirmatory of these conjectures was discovered during the recent exploration.

As usual in Roman stations, many of the fragments found bore names, or portions of names, of the potters who made the vessels of which they had once formed parts. Many of these names have occurred before at other Roman stations; but some, it is believed, are new to archæological research. One is somewhat difficult to make out satisfactorily. It is represented on one of the Plates. The artist has joined several fragments which apparently belong to each other, and so the whole of the impress of the stamp appears; but it is not easy to know how it should be read. The most probable explanation that occurs to the writer is that the last letter, which looks like a c reversed, is imperfect, and is in reality a portion of an o, and that the whole legend should be IMANNI O.; that is, *Imanni officinâ* (from the workshop of Imannus).¹

Doubtless considerable numbers of fragments of pottery bearing potters' stamps have been found at Vinovia, from time to time, in former ages; but beyond the record that some of them bore the name of AMANDVS, already referred to, the writer only knows of one. That is a frag-

¹ The writer does not remember these fragments, and has been unable to discover them, on a recent search, in the Museum of the University of Durham. If they are still in existence, he does not know in whose hands they are.

ment of the handle of an amphora preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne. An engraving of it is here given. It bears, as will be seen, a cross between the two syllables of the name, VRFI. Whether the cross is an ornament or a contraction for the letters TI seems uncertain. If it is meant for a contraction of those letters, the name of the maker would be apparently Urtifus. If it is only an ornament, the maker's name would seem to be Urfus.



The following is a complete list of the potters' stamps discovered by Mr. Proud during the recent exploration, as far as they admit of decipherment. Where the last letter given is followed by a perpendicular stroke, it must be understood that the fracture of the piece occurs immediately after that letter, so that it is not possible to say with certainty whether the stamp contained any further letters or not.

On Amphoræ.

1. ACIRCH |
2. ECCVC / / (Very badly stamped.)

On a Mortarium.

3. EOCCR (Within a wreath. The stamp apparently contained more letters, but the rest were obliterated by the lip.)

On Embossed Samian Ware.

4. | MAN | (Probably part of AMANDI.)
5. CINI (On a fragment which contains part of a representation of the infant Hercules strangling the serpent.)
6. | NI (On a fragment on which are faces of Xantippe and Socrates with a snake between them. A representation of it is given on one of the accompanying Plates.)
7. MERCVT O (Intended apparently for *Mercutii officinâ* [from the workshop or factory of Mercurius]. The stamp is on a frag-



FRAGMENTS OF BOWLS OF SAMIAN WARE.

ment on which are a bird and a dog in separate compartments.)

8. AVENTINI M. (*Aventini manu* [made by the hand of Aventinus]. This stamp is on a fragment representing a hunting scene. There are two horses, with a dog running under one of them.)
9. ... PAI
10. PAT | (This stamp is very illegible.)

On Plain Samian Ware.

11. SATVRNNI OF
12. ALBVCIANI
13. PAVLLI
14. CRISPINI M
15. SENTIA . M (The T is not very plain.)
16. LVCINA
17. NAVILIANI (Possibly the third letter is M.)
18. VIRILIS F (That is, *Virilis fecit*, Virilis made this.)
19. PA*LI (Apparently intended for *Pauli*.)
20. SATVRNNI O
21. MATERNI
22. DRIPPI . M . A . (Apparently intended for *Drippi manu* [the handiwork of Drippus], notwithstanding the full stop between the M and the A.)
23. A . POL . AVSTI (It is difficult to say whether the full stops between the A and the P, and between the L and the second A, have any significance.)
24. MAVRI . A (This stamp is very illegible; the fourth and fifth letters are the most indistinct.)
25. | OF CELSI
26. | NAILL . F (Possibly not perfect.)
27. *AVLI . M (Apparently *Pauli manu*, the handiwork of Paul.)
28. CELSIANI O.

Portions of Stamps.

The number of asterisks in each case indicates the number of letters that appear to be wanting.

29. * * * SIMII M
30. GEMIN *
31. CASSI * * * * *
32. AT * * * * * *
33. MARI * * * * * *
34. PATTRAT * * *
35. CAPEL * * * * * *
36. T * * * * * II
37. REG * LL * *
38. M * IIL * *
39. LVCIA * * * * *

40. A — (Probable number of letters following A unknown.)

41. * * A . TVLLI

42. * * * * II . M

One is struck with the great variety of these names. Out of the whole forty-two stamps found there are but a very few evident duplicates, and not many more possible ones; yet many of the names have been found elsewhere, in widely different localities.¹ Hence we cannot but conclude that trade was very active, that commodities were exported from the place of their manufacture to places at very considerable distances, and that there were large numbers of persons engaged in similar callings; all which argues a very prosperous and highly civilised state of society.

The same fact is evidenced, to a certain extent, by another very interesting find which was made. On walking through the station one day, while the exploration was going on, the Rev. T. C. Tatham, then Curate of Byers Green (now Vicar of Sunnyside), picked up an engraved gem, a jasper, on which is cut a two-faced head. Authorities have differed as to the individuals intended by the artist, some holding that the faces were intended for those of Xantippe and Socrates; others, that they were intended to represent Bacchus and Silenus. Holding the latter to be the true explanation, Mr. J. E. Sandys, the Public Orator in the University of Cambridge, in his edition of the *Bacchæ of Euripides* (published since the discovery of the gem), has given an engraving of it as illustrating the progress of the intemperate drinker from youthful beauty to degraded sottishness. Instructive, however, as such

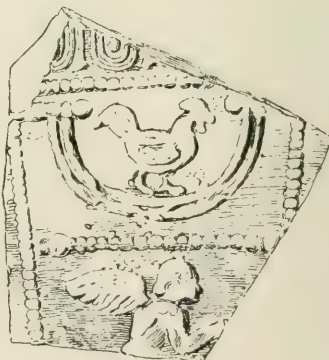
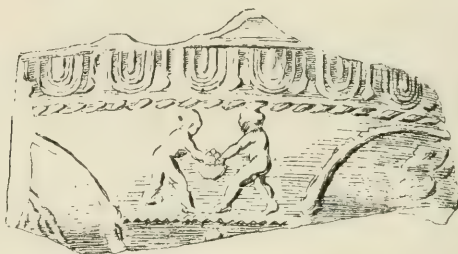
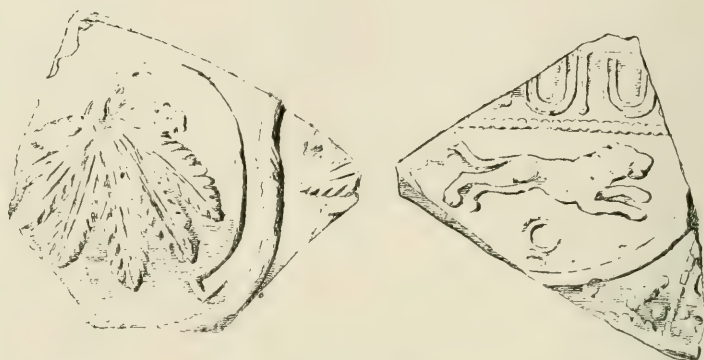


¹ The Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., Vice-Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham, has added to Mr. Proud's collection two stamps given to him by Mr. Robinson of Chester-le-Street, and said by that gentleman to have been brought from Vinovia. They are on a small, plain, Samian bowl, and on a small Samian cup, respectively. The readings are:

43. ADVOCISI O

44. DOICCI MA

VINOVA.



FRAGMENTS OF FIGURED SAMIAN WARE.

an interpretation of the significance of the design undoubtedly is, the writer must say that his own opinion inclines strongly to the view that the gem represents the famous, ill-matched, married couple; and in this he is fortified by an engraving of a very similar gem to be found in Worlidge's *Select Collection of Drawings from Curious Antique Gems*, published in 1768, to which his attention has been called by Dr. Dennis Embleton of Newcastle-on-Tyne; to whom also he is indebted for valuable remarks on the significance of the spotted face described on a preceding page. The gem in Worlidge is strikingly like the one found at Vinovia; but in its case it is impossible to mistake the face of the female for the visage of a man. It is called by Worlidge "a Socratic mask on carnelian." The engraving on the preceding page is from an enlarged drawing of the gem found at Vinovia. The annexed engraving shows about the actual size.



Besides the objects described above, another of great interest, and rarely found in Britain, was a strigil, or implement used by bathers, somewhat after the manner in which a flesh-brush has been used in more modern times. This was found in the circular chamber described in the *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 304, and which was plainly, when erected, the *caldarium*, or hot room, of a suite of bathing apartments. The implement is of bronze, elaborately chased, and scooped out, like a gouge, throughout the greater part of its length. It was quite perfect, with the exception that it was in two pieces; whether broken wilfully by enemies who sacked Vinovia, or eaten through by corrosive influence acting through a long period of time, it is hard to determine. The perfect preservation of the instrument in all other respects would point, perhaps, to the former explanation as the more probable one.

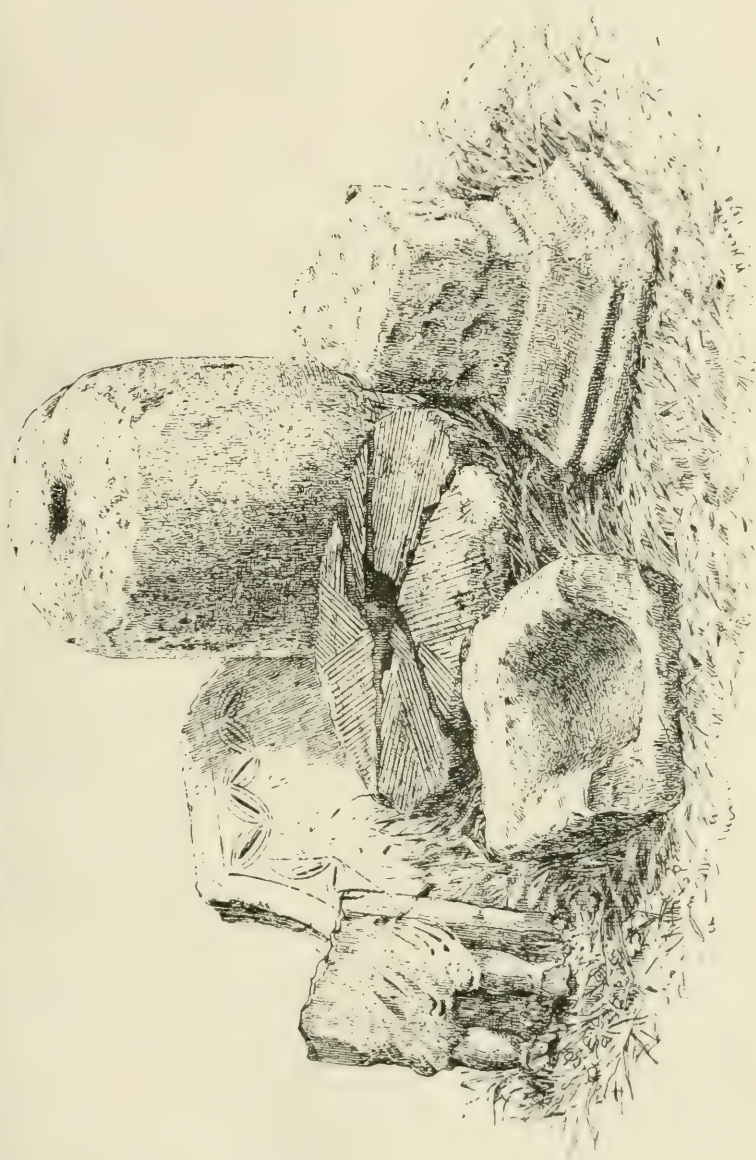
Another bronze article found belonged also to the toilet, but was of a kind not so rarely met with in Britain as the strigil. This was a pair of tweezers, an implement used as a depilatory. It was very perfect. It was unfortunately lost some time after its discovery.

Various fragments of combs were found, and many knives, several knife-handles, and much glass. Some of

the latter was very beautiful, indicating that the art of glass-making had reached great perfection in Roman times. Bones of oxen and of other animals, oyster-shells, and other indications of the food of the inhabitants of Vinovia, were not wanting.

A large collection of the objects discovered was placed in the Museum belonging to the University of Durham, on the Palace Green in that city, in handsome oak cases specially provided by the munificence of Mr. Proud, and arranged by the writer; and there almost everything described in this paper can now be seen. One curious object is not yet there, though it is hoped it will be before long. It belongs, in all probability, to a later period of the chequered history of Vinovia, and was picked up, some years ago, on the slope of the sliding hill-side, by Mr. John Jobson of Bishop's Auckland. It is a woman's skull, through which, doubtless during life, a missile passed; whether a shot from a firearm, or a bolt from a crossbow, remains to be discovered. Whichever it was, however, it must have been discharged with great force, and must have travelled with great velocity, for it passed right through from temple to temple, making a round hole at its entrance, and leaving a somewhat larger round hole at its exit. Death must have been instantaneous, and burial, doubtless, took place near the spot where the victim fell.

The tragic incident above described is not likely to have been the only one the site of Vinovia, always charmingly beautiful, and now sweetly peaceful, witnessed; for a very unusual number of human burials have taken place within its limits in the ages that have elapsed since the Roman soldiers dwelt securely within and around its massive ramparts. Almost whenever and wherever the ground is disturbed, human bones are met with. These cannot have been Roman burials, for the bones are found above the level of Roman rooms, above the level of the Roman street, within and without the Roman ramparts. They can hardly, either, have been interments in some old, consecrated burial-ground, for there is neither tradition nor indication of any such having ever existed there. Some of them may have been interments of inhabitants of the Mansion Houses which for centuries succeeded one



another on the historic site, peacefully laid to rest when their appointed time had come ; but others, in all probability, are the remains of victims or assailants slain in attacks or forays, of which, doubtless, Binchester, the mediæval successor of Vinovia, had to endure its full share.

It remains now only for the writer to acknowledge, before concluding, gratefully the liberal help Mr. John Proud has given him in the elucidation of this interesting memorial of Roman times, by placing at his disposal all the plans, sketches, and finished drawings he had made of the discoveries ; and he feels sure that he is expressing the lively feeling of the members of the British Archæological Association, as well as his own sincere conviction, when he says that to Mr. John Proud archæological science owes as real a debt of gratitude as to any Englishman now living, for enlightened public spirit and wise munificence.

THE EARLY SCULPTURED STONES OF THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A.SCOT.

(Read 5th March 1890.)

FIVE years ago a "List of the Stones with Interlaced Ornament in England", compiled by the Rev. G. F. Browne and myself, was published in the *Journal* of the Association (vol. xli, p. 351). This list, although it took a very considerable amount of trouble to prepare, was only intended to be a preliminary one, giving in each case nothing beyond the name of the locality where the stone or stones were to be found, a reference to the sheet of the Ordnance Map on which the locality was marked, the nature and number of the stones in each locality, and a reference to the book or paper containing a description of the stones.

The first instalment of a more elaborate catalogue, dealing with the stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire, is appended to the present paper, and it is to be hoped that in time the work may be extended to other parts of England. Our Associate, Mr. A. G. Langdon, has collected sufficient information to be able to catalogue fully all the stones in Cornwall, and Mr. P. C. Kermodé has already published a tolerably complete list of all the Manx crosses; but in other parts of England neither individual antiquaries nor archæological societies have attempted to make a survey of this most interesting class of monuments. Indeed, our own Association may take the credit to itself of having done more practical work with regard to the pre-Norman sculptured stones of England than either the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Archæological Institute, or any of the local associations.

It is here also very gratifying to be able to call attention to the increased interest that is being awakened in the subject by the Rev. Prof. G. F. Browne's Lectures at Cambridge. It is a distinct step in advance for a conservative University body to have given the Disney Professorship of Archæology to a person who was known to

be in favour of giving a preference to the study of the Christian antiquities of our native land over anything classical. Whilst congratulating Prof. Browne upon his appointment to the Chair of Archæology at Cambridge, it is impossible not to regret that his labours at the University have prevented his being a more frequent contributor to the *Journal* of the Association during the last year or two.

One of the chief objects of a complete descriptive catalogue of the pre-Norman sculptured stones of Great Britain is to enable a comparative analysis to be made of the various ornamental patterns and figure-sculpture, in order to throw as much light as possible upon the age of the monuments, the origin and development of the style of the art, and the particular schools to which any series of monuments can be traced.

Palæographers have long ago found out that their knowledge of the age of handwriting is derived almost entirely from the careful observation of the minute differences in the shapes of the letters. So also in the case of the sculptured stones, the comparison of the variations in the ornamental patterns affords the surest guide as to the period when any particular group was designed, and the place whence it emanated. In addition, therefore, to the catalogue at the end of this paper, an analysis of the ornament and figure-sculpture is given. The catalogue contains the following particulars:—

Name of place, giving number of Sheet of Ordnance Map on which it is marked, position relative to nearest large town, and distance from nearest railway station.

Number appropriated to each stone where more than one occurs in any locality.

Reference to book where the stone is described or illustrated.

Class of monument, whether cross, recumbent, coped stone, sepulchral slab, etc.

State of preservation, mentioning whether the monument is complete or broken, and which portion of it remains.

Material of which the monument is made.

Present position of the monument, stating whether it is still *in situ*; and if not, giving particulars as to whence it was removed, or where it was discovered.

Dimensions of the monument.

Architectural features, such as cable or other mouldings at the angles; methods of fitting together the stones of which the monument is composed; and anything else that does not come strictly under the head of decorative sculpture.

Sculpture on each face of the monument, described separately, panel by panel, pointing out the peculiarities of the inscriptions, ornament, and figure-subjects.

In the present paper it is proposed to give, in as concise a form as possible, the general results arrived at, by cataloguing the early sculptured stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and analysing the ornamental sculpture with which they are so profusely decorated. It will be found convenient to arrange the whole under the following heads:—

- (1.) Historical data for ascertaining the age of the monuments.
- (2.) Number of localities where the monuments occur, and their geographical distribution.
- (3.) Number of monuments, their classification according to form, and their state of preservation.
- (4.) Architectural features of the monuments.
- (5.) Inscriptions on the monuments.
- (6.) Ornamental features of the monuments,—(a), interlaced work; (b), key-patterns; (c), spirals; (d), scroll-foliage; (e), beasts, birds, serpents, etc.
- (7.) Figure-sculpture and symbolism of the monuments.

Historical Data for ascertaining the Age of the Monuments.—The age of the monuments existing in any particular geographical area can only be arrived at either by reference to the history of this area itself, or to the history of some other area where monuments of a similar class are to be found. The stones we are now considering are those which exhibit certain peculiar forms and combinations of ornament, sometimes miscalled Runic, but with greater accuracy termed by Prof. Westwood Hiberno-Saxon, on account of the frequent occurrence of this style of decoration in the Irish and Saxon MSS. anterior to the twelfth century. It can safely be said that none of the sculptured stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire can be of earlier date than the introduction of Christianity into this part of England in A.D. 627;¹ nor can they be later than the Norman conquest, when Hiberno-Saxon art became extinct.

The history of the changes that took place in the boundaries of kingdoms of the north of England, between the sixth and the tenth centuries, have an important bearing on the question of the age of the early Christian

¹ Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, book ii, chap. 14.

monuments. Referring to the maps given in Prof. E. A. Freeman's *Old English History*, it will be seen that in the sixth century what is now the West Riding of Yorkshire was occupied by part of the Celtic kingdom of Strathclyde, and by Loidis and Elmete. In the seventh century the kingdom of Strathclyde was cut in two by the extension of the boundary of Northumbria to the shores of Lancashire, thus finally separating the Celts of Cumberland and the south of Scotland from those of Wales by a broad belt of Scandinavian population extending right across the north of England from sea to sea.

Now if so early a date could be assigned to any of the sculptured stones as the first half of the seventh century, we should expect the ornamental features of those found in Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, to have an affinity with those of Wales, and to differ markedly from those of Yorkshire. But this is not so. All the stones in the north of England have the same characteristics, and the Celtic designs upon them are to be traced to the Scotie influence of the school of Lindisfarne, and not to Wales.

It has been suggested that some of the Yorkshire crosses may have been the work of the band of masons (*camentarii*) which Eddius¹ tells us that Wilfrid took about with him from place to place when performing his episcopal duties. At this time, however, the art of sculpture must have been in its infancy in England; if, indeed, it existed at all. The only undoubted specimens of carving of the seventh century, now existing, are the rudely incised figures of saints on the wooden coffin of St. Cuthbert at Durham.² These entirely lack the delicate finish so characteristic of the work on most of the crosses, nor is there a trace of ornament of any kind. The earliest historical reference to sculpture in England is the description given by Simeon of Durham (§ 36) of the crosses of Acca's grave at Hexham.³ The earliest dated

¹ *Vita Wilfredi*, chap. xiv.

² Engraved in Raine's *St. Cuthbert*.

³ See *Publications of the Surtees Society*, vols. xlv-xlvi, "The Priory Church of Hexham and its Chronicles", by J. Raine; and Simeon of Durham in Record Office Series. Acca died Oct. 20, A.D. 740.

MS. with Hiberno-Saxon ornament, written in England, is the *Durham Book* (A.D. 698-721) in the British Museum; but in it not a trace is to be seen of the scrolls of foliage which are almost universal on the sculptured stones of Northumbria; and, on the other hand, its illuminated pages are covered with the divergent spiral patterns of which there is no instance on the stones of this district.

The revival of learning by Charlemagne, and the more intimate connection then existing between England and France, no doubt had a very distinct effect on the art of both countries. Although the question can by no means be considered as settled, I am inclined, on the whole, to attribute most of the sculptured stones of Northumbria to the Carolingian period (after A.D. 800), and not to the time of Wilfrid (A.D. 658-709).

History does not throw much light upon the sites where early monasteries existed in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The only ones mentioned by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* are Ripon, Thridwulf's Monastery in Elmete Forest, and Campodunum. Nevertheless it is evident, from the number of localities where Hiberno-Saxon crosses have been found, and dedications to Saxon saints (such as the churches at Collingham and at Guisley to St. Oswald) that there must have been many more ecclesiastical foundations besides those of which a historical record has been preserved. Camden mentions a tradition, but apparently on quite insufficient evidence, that Paulinus preached and celebrated Mass at Dewsbury. Some pious incumbent, wishing to perpetuate the legend, has caused a cross to be manufactured bearing the legend quoted by Camden, viz.,

PAVLINVS HIC PREDICAVIT ET
CELEBRAVIT

This cross, which formerly adorned the east gable of the chancel of the parish church, has now very properly been removed, and placed within the building.

Otley, where there are several sculptured stones, was given to York by King Athelstan.

Endeavours have been made, as we shall see subsequently, by the late Rev. Daniel H. Haigh, Prof. Stephens,

and Prof. G. F. Browne, to date the crosses at Leeds, Collingham, and Thornhill, by identifying the individuals whose names are mentioned in the inscriptions upon them with historical personages.

Number of Localities where the Monuments occur, and their Geographical Distribution.—There are at present known twenty-seven localities where early Christian sculptured stones exist in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Most of the places are situated in or near the valleys formed by the tributaries of the Humber. Thus, in the valley of the river Wharfe we have Kirkby Wharfe, Collingham, Otley, Guisley, Ilkley, and Burnsall; in the valley of the river Aire, Ledsham, Kippax, Leeds, and Bingley; and in the valley of the river Calder, Methley, Crofton, Wakefield, Dewsbury, Thornhill, Hartshead, and Rastrick. The high, desolate moorlands, as might be expected, are almost destitute of localities where the stones occur. They are most thickly distributed within a twenty-mile radius of Leeds.

With the exception of Walton Cross, near Hartshead, all the stones are either in churches or churchyards.

Number of Monuments, their Classification according to Form, and their State of Preservation.—The following list gives the localities where the stones occur, arranged alphabetically, with the numbers of stones in each case:

Adel	5	Kirkby Wharfe	1
Bilton	4	Kirkheaton	1
Bingley	2	Ledsham	2
Burnsall	8	Leeds	2
Collingham	4	Methley	1
Crofton	2	Middlemoor	1
Dewsbury	10	Otley	7
Guisley	1	Rastrick	1
Hartshead	1	Ripon	4
Healaugh	1	Rothwell	2
Ilkley	11	Sheffield	1
Kippax	1	Thornhill	11
Kirkburton	1	Wakefield	1
Kirkby Hill	9		

It will be seen that the total number of stones amounts to 95, and that the largest groups are at Thornhill, Dewsbury, Ilkley, Otley, and Kirkby Hill, showing either that these places must have possessed special sanctity

in pre-Norman times, or that some exceptionally fortunate circumstances have caused the stones to be preserved here whilst they have been destroyed elsewhere.

The following is a list of the various kinds of sculptured stones :—

- (1.) Erect crosses.
- (2.) Erect headstones.
- (3.) Recumbent, sepulchral slabs.
- (4.) Recumbent, coped tombstones.
- (5.) Architectural details of churches.
- (6.) Fonts.

Only one or two examples of each of the last five classes are to be found in the West Riding of Yorkshire. At Adel there are some remarkable headstones very rudely ornamented with incised lines; at Healaugh there is an inscribed sepulchral slab; at Dewsbury and at Burnsall there are recumbent, coped tombstones; at Kirkby Hill, Ledsham, and Rothwell, there are architectural details; and at Bingley an inscribed font. By far the greater proportion of the stones are crosses, or portions of crosses, in varying states of preservation, as shown in the following table, with approximate numbers of each :

Crosses complete, and still erect in original base	.	.	0
" " re-erected in new base	.	.	0
" " with the exception of the base, and not			
" " now erect	.	.	0
" broken	.	.	5
Cross-heads complete	.	.	1
" broken	.	.	0
Cross-shafts complete, and still erect in original base	.	.	0
" " re-erected in new base	.	.	0
" " but not now erect	.	.	0
" broken, and still erect in original base	.	.	1
" " re-erected in new base	.	.	0
" " but not now erect	.	.	50
Cross-bases complete, and still erect in original position	.	.	2
" removed from original site	.	.	0
" broken	.	.	0

It appears that there are no examples now remaining in the West Riding of Yorkshire of a complete cross with the head perfect and erect in its original base, so that we can only conjecturally restore the monuments by either taking a head from one place, a shaft from another, and

a base from a third, or else by going to some other part of the country for a model. At Ilkley we have a perfect shaft, at Bilton an entire head, and at Hartshead a base in fine preservation.

The crosses seem to have varied considerably in size. The larger ones, such as those at Ilkley and Leeds, were probably non-sepulchral churchyard crosses, and the smaller ones intended to be placed over a grave, as is clearly shown by some of the inscriptions. The former must have been as high as 12 ft. when complete, and one of the latter, of which a fragment remains at Dewsbury, cannot have been more than 3 ft.

Architectural Features of the Monuments.— Under this heading it is proposed to deal with such subjects as the method in which the crosses are constructed of more than one stone, the forms of the crosses, the general arrangement of the design, the mouldings, and other details that cannot be strictly considered as ornament.

In the case of the smaller crosses the head and shaft were cut out of a single stone; but in the case of the larger crosses the head was formed out of a separate stone, and fixed to the shaft by means of a mortice and tenon. Two of the crosses at Ilkley have the mortices still visible at the tops of the shafts, although the heads have long since disappeared. Many of the crosses were, no doubt, originally placed erect in the ground, without any socket-stone; but others, like those at Hartshead and Rastrick, were provided with a substantial base covered with ornamental sculpture. The shafts of most of the crosses are of rectangular cross-section, tapering towards the top. The heads of the crosses, judging from the fragments remaining, had semicircular hollows at the points of intersection of the arms, and a circular ring connecting the arms.

One of the most characteristic features of Hiberno-Saxon decoration, whether in the illuminated pages of the MSS., or on ecclesiastical metalwork, or on the sculptured stones, is the importance given to the margin. The pages of the illuminated MSS. are invariably surrounded by a sort of frame or border consisting of coloured lines of various thicknesses, and rows of red dots, or of a band

of ornament. The counterpart of the margin round the page of the illuminated MS. is the moulding at the angles of the sculptured cross. In metalwork it is represented by a projecting, twisted, or granulated bead round the edges of the object.

On the sculptured stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire we have examples of several different marginal mouldings running vertically up the four angles of the shaft and round the head. The simplest and most common class of moulding is produced by slightly rounding the corner of the stone, giving the appearance of a flat band. Then there are the roll-moulding, the double bead-moulding, and two or three varieties of cable-mouldings.

The Hiberno-Saxon decorative artist, having enclosed his design with a bold border, divided the space within into several panels surrounded with a less conspicuous border, and finally filled in each panel with a different pattern complete in itself. He endeavoured, wherever possible, to produce a pleasing contrast by varying the patterns in the different panels: thus two panels next to each other are hardly ever filled in with the same class of pattern.

In the more elaborate crosses, such as those at Monasterboice in Ireland, every panel is completely surrounded by a margin of its own, in addition to the margin enclosing the whole design; but in the crosses we are now considering the panels are bounded on the two sides by the moulding at the angle of the shaft, and at the top and bottom by horizontal bands that separate the panels from each other. Sometimes the horizontal bands in question are moulded, as at Otley, where there is a bead at each edge. On one of the crosses at Ilkley the horizontal bands are ornamented with chevrons; and on another, at the same place, with incised lines and dots.

Instances of the substitution of arcading for panelling are to be seen on the stones at Dewsbury, Collingham, Otley, and Rothwell. This method of enclosing the different parts of a design under arches is more characteristic of the Norman than of the Saxon style. On the crosses, however, we have the stepped capital instead of the cushion-capital, and a leaf in the spandrils at each

side, above the arch, thus clearly differentiating the earlier from the later kind of arcading.

Over the figures of the Virgin and Child, on one of the fragments at Dewsbury, there is a triangular-headed canopy instead of an arch.

The coped stone at Dewsbury has a Saxon baluster-shaped column carved at two of the angles, and the sloping faces at the top covered with scales, to imitate the tiles on a roof.

Inscriptions.—There are in the West Riding of Yorkshire eleven inscribed stones, nearly all of which are shafts of crosses. The following list gives the localities, the class of lettering, and the kind of monument on which the inscriptions occur :—

Anglian Runes.—Bingley, font; Collingham, cross-shaft; Kirkheaton, cross-shaft; Leeds, cross-shaft; Thornhill (3), cross-shafts.

Anglo-Saxon Capitals.—Dewsbury, cross-shaft; Ripon, cross-shaft; Thornhill, cross-shaft.

Minuscules.—Dewsbury, cross-head; Healaugh, sepulchral slab.

Readings of nearly all these inscriptions, with remarks upon them, are to be found in Prof. G. Stephens' *Runic Monuments*, and in the papers contributed by the late Rev. Daniel H. Haigh to the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.¹ The inscriptions are in all cases epitaphs, with the exception of those on two of the fragments of cross-shafts at Dewsbury, which are descriptive of the subjects of the figure-sculpture. The formula and language of the epitaph are the same, whether written in Anglian Runes, Anglo-Saxon capitals, or minuscules, as will be seen from the following typical examples of each.

(1.) Inscription in Anglian Runes on cross-shaft at Thornhill :—

+ IGILSUIP ARÆRDE ÆFTER
BERHTSUIPE BECUN
AT BERGI GEBIDDAP
ÐER SAULE

Igilswith raised to the memory of Berhtsuih this monument at the barrow. Pray for the soul.

(2.) Inscription in Anglo-Saxon capitals on fragment of cross-shaft at Thornhill :—

¹ Vol. ii, p. 252; vol. iii, p. 349; vol. iv, p. 416.

.. E AEFT

.. OBSER

...BEC

...BER

(.... raised to the memory of) Osberht (this) monument

(3.) Inscription in minuscules on fragment of cross-head from Dewsbury, now in the British Museum :—

.....

rhtae be

cun aeft

er beor

nae gibi

dd ad d

er sa

ule

.....rht (raised this) monument to the memory of the prince.
Pray for the soul.

The usual formula of the epitaphs appears then to have been—"A set up this monument to the memory of B. Pray for his soul." The introduction of the words "at bergi" in the Thornhill inscription is remarkable. This occurs nowhere else in England, and only in two instances in Scandinavia. Prof. G. F. Browne suggests that "bergi" does not mean the barrow over the grave, but the hill upon which the church of Thornhill stands.

The language in which most of the inscriptions are couched is the ancient Northumbrian dialect ; but a few, such as that on a small cross from Ripon, in the York Museum, as given below, are in Latin :—

+ ADH

VZE

PĒB

Adhuse Presbyter.

The following personal names are to be found in the inscriptions of the West Riding of Yorkshire :—

Bingley, illegible; Collingham, Oswin; Dewsbury, ...ht; Healaugh, Madug; Leeds, Anlaf; Ripon, Adhuse; Thornhill, No. 1, Igilsuith, Berhtsuith; No. 2, Eadred, Eata; No. 3, Ethelbercht, Ethelwini; No. 4, Osberht.

Of the above names, attempts have been made to identify the following with those of persons mentioned in history :—Oswin with Oswin, ruler of the Deira, A.D. 651; Anlaf with Olaf Sitricsson, King of Northumbria, A.D.

941-945; Eata with Eata, a hermit, who is recorded by Simeon of Durham to have died at Craic, ten miles from York, in A.D. 752; Osberht with Osberht, King of Northumbria, killed, together with Elle, in a battle with the Danes at York, A.D. 867.

The inscriptions on two fragments of cross-shafts at Dewsbury, descriptive of the figure-subjects over which they occur, are in Anglo-Saxon capitals:—(1), over a figure of Christ enthroned; (2), over the miracle of Cana (?); (3), over another miracle (?).

Ornamental Features: Interlaced Work.—The term “interlaced work” is used throughout this paper as a general one, to describe all patterns formed of bands following definite courses, and overlapping each other at regular intervals. There are several different varieties of interlaced work, which taken in order of development (the simplest kinds being placed first) are as follows,—twists, twists and rings, looped bands, chains of rings, plaitwork, broken plaitwork, plain knotwork, circular knotwork.

It will give some idea of the fertility of imagination of the Hiberno-Saxon artist to mention that it is possible to collect from one district alone, such as the West Riding of Yorkshire, examples of nearly every different kind of interlaced work, the same pattern being rarely repeated twice exactly in the same way.

We will now proceed to illustrate the various stages of the growth of interlaced ornament from the sculptured stones that form the subject of this paper.

Twists.—The most elementary species of interlaced work consists of two bands twisted together, as at Collingham (No. 1). Sometimes the bends in the bands are made angular, as at Hartshead and Dewsbury (No. 3). This pattern in its simplest form, on account of its limited width, is only suitable for narrow borders, edges of cross-shafts, circular rings connecting the arms of cross-heads, etc. Its width may be increased by doubling the band of which the twist is composed, or by combining it with another twist, as at Thornhill (No. 7). This pattern may also be considered as a four-band plait composed of two single bands and two double bands. To make a four-band plait out of two twists, they must each be exactly

similar in all respects ; but a new pattern, which is not a plait, may be formed by making the distances between the points of intersection of the bands of one of the twists alternately long and short.

Twists and Rings.—By combining a pair of twisted bands with rings of different kinds, the pattern may be varied, and its width at the same time increased. The term “ring” is here used to mean a band taking the form of the outline of a symmetrical figure traced out by a point which starts from a fixed position, and after describing the whole of the outline returns to its initial position. As examples of the more complicated kinds of rings we have the well-known figures produced by a mechanical chuck in a lathe, the process being technically called engine-turning.

The rings commonly made use of in interlaced ornament are—(1), the circular ring ; (2), the figure-of-eight ring ; (3), the three-cornered or three-looped ring, otherwise known as the triquetra-knot ; (4), the four-cornered or four-looped ring ; (5), a pair of oval rings placed crosswise and interlaced.

The circular ring is very frequently used in combination with the twist in Hiberno-Saxon ornament, more particularly in the Isle of Man and the south-west of Scotland. In the West Riding of Yorkshire there is a single example of it at Collingham (No. 3).

The figure-of-eight ring, combined with an angular twist, occurs in three cases, at Dewsbury (No. 3), Hartshead, and Thornhill (No. 9).

The three-cornered ring, or triquetra, is unsuitable, on account of its shape, for combination with a twist.

The four-cornered ring is used in combination with an angular twist, at Dewsbury (No. 3).

A pair of oval rings placed crosswise, and combined with a twist, occur at Thornhill (No. 8) and at Rastrick.

Looped Bands.—It is possible to form an interlaced pattern with a single band by making a series of loops either all on one side or on alternate sides. There is an example of a single band with the loops on alternate sides at Leeds (No. 1) ; and also a pattern composed of two bands looped on the same side, but placed so that the loops of one band face in the opposite direction to those of the other.

Chains of Rings.—A pattern not actually composed entirely of circular rings interlaced so as to form a chain, but of that type, occurs at Burnsall (No. 1). This is the pattern which is so common in the Isle of Man, Cumberland, and Anglesey. It is probably of Scandinavian origin, as I have endeavoured to show in a previous paper.¹

Plaitwork.—Regular plaitwork does not seem to have been as much in favour for ornamental purposes, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, as it was in Wales and Cornwall; but there are examples at Bilton (Nos. 1 and 2), Rothwell (No. 1), and Thornhill (Nos. 2 and 8). A plait of four bands combined with a figure of eight rings occurs at Hartshead, Dewsbury (No. 3), and Thornhill (No. 9).

Broken Plaitwork.—By this term is meant plaitwork in which all the bands do not run through in the usual way, but some are cut off and joined up to others, so as to break the continuity of the whole. An instance occurs at Ilkley (No. 8), which will serve to illustrate the principle. Sometimes the breaks are made without any regard to symmetry, merely for the sake of introducing a variety in the ornament; but when the breaks occur at regular intervals, not very far apart, we get an approximation to knotwork. I think it is not unreasonable to suggest that knotwork may have been developed out of plaitwork in this way.

Plain Knotwork.—It must be clearly pointed out that the knots used for ornamental purposes are seldom such as are suitable for tying practically in string, but are merely bands so arranged as to follow a definite path, and pass under and over each other in so doing. The beauty of the pattern produced depends on the shape, size, and disposition of the spaces between the bands. If the knot were tied in string, and the ends pulled, in most cases a hopeless tangle would be the result; the shape of the spaces forming the background would be altered, or disappear altogether.

Knotwork used for ornamental purposes, then, may be defined as a pattern composed of one or more elementary knots repeated over and over again, and arranged generally in parallel rows, or according to some other system

¹ *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xliii, p. 250.

of setting out lines. The knot which is most obviously derived from plaitwork is the figure-of-eight knot, which occurs at Collingham (No. 2) and at Otley (No. 1). It is formed from a plait of four bands by making breaks at every fourth point of intersection of the bands along the central axis of the plait.

Whatever may have been the origin of knotwork, it soon became something very different from broken plaitwork ; and the change arose from altering the direction in which the elementary knot faced in the first instance, when derived from a plait. The number of positions in which a knot can be placed depends on the geometrical property called symmetry, as explained in my paper on "Interlaced Ornament" in the *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xvii, p. 227. There are two kinds of symmetry in a plane,—(1), with regard to an axis in the plane ; and (2), with regard to a point which is the intersection of an axis at right angles to the plane. The number of positions in which a knot can be placed for ornamental purposes may be found by drawing three axes at right angles to each other through the centre of the knot (two being in the plane of the paper, and the third at right angles to it), and then observing the changes produced by turning the knot through an angle of 180° round each axis. This may be done practically by drawing the knot on a piece of tracing-paper, and either turning it round on a flat surface, face upwards ; or reversing it, so that the face is downwards, and the back upwards. If no change is produced in the knot by turning it round any axis, it is symmetrical with regard to that axis. A knot may be symmetrical either to two or all three axes, but not to one ; for the same result is arrived at whether the knot is turned through an angle of 180° round one of the axes in the plane of the paper, or round one at right angles to it. If it is perfectly symmetrical to all three axes, it can be placed in two positions only ; if it is symmetrical to two axes, it can be placed in four positions. If a knot is quite unsymmetrical, it can be placed in eight different positions.

The Hiberno-Saxon artist probably set about his work in the same practical way as the modern designer does, by drawing the setting-out lines of the pattern first, to

guide him subsequently : at all events the Japanese, the natives of India, and the Persians, who are masters of the most elaborately intricate geometrical ornament, employ this method.

For mathematical reasons it is not necessary here to specify there are only two systems of setting out lines,—(1), those which cut at right angles, dividing the whole surface into squares;¹ and (2), those cutting at angles of 60°, dividing the surface into equilateral triangles.² The latter system, although commonly used in the East, does not appear to have taken root in England at this early period, as all the Hiberno-Saxon patterns are founded on the square system.

After the setting-out lines had been drawn, the next step in preparing the design was to fill in each square with an elementary knot, and finally the whole was completed by joining all the knots together so as to form a continuous pattern. The position of the same knot may be varied in each square, or different knots may be placed in different squares; the only conditions to be observed being that the number of bands to be joined together must be the same in each case, and that their ends must come as nearly as possible opposite each other. The knots may be arranged in one or more parallel rows, each knot filling a square.

It is possible to illustrate most of the methods of design just explained from the sculptured stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The Stafford knot³ is, perhaps, the most universally used throughout the whole range of Hiberno-Saxon art. Its conditions of symmetry⁴ allow of its being placed in four different positions, facing upwards, downwards, right and left. It forms a very common termination for a pattern composed of some other kind of knot, as at Colling-

¹ For purposes of decoration the surface may be divided into diamonds; but in this case the diamonds are to be considered as squares distorted or thrown askew.

² The surface divided into equilateral triangles serves both for patterns founded on the triangle and the hexagon.

³ Indicated by the letter A in my paper on "Interlaced Ornament" in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xvii, p. 242.

⁴ It is symmetrical to two axes,—one in the plane of the paper, and the other at right angles to it.

ham (No. 1), Leeds, and Otley (No. 1), and is also frequently seen on the ends of the arms of cross-heads, as at Collingham (No. 3) and Kirkby Wharfe. The Stafford knot fits conveniently into any triangular space such as that left between elementary knots of circular shape and the straight margin. An instance of this occurs at Ilkley (No. 7). Stafford knots arranged in a double row, facing to the right in right row, and to the left in the left row, occur at Ilkley (No. 4). Stafford knots arranged in double row, those in each row facing alternately upwards and downwards, and having two additional bands interwoven through each knot, occur at Thornhill (Nos. 1 and 9).

The patterns on the two stones at Thornhill, although composed of the same knots, are not identical, for in one case, where the bands of two knots join, they run on parallel, but in the other they cross. These stones are interesting as exhibiting two common devices for varying interlaced patterns by introducing additional bands, and making a crossed junction where the ends of two bands come out opposite each other.

The spiral knot¹ is a very typical one of Celtic ornament generally, and it was a great favourite with designers of the sculptured stones, partly on account of its beauty, and partly because it can be varied in so many different ways. Since it is quite unsymmetrical, and since the spiral curve can be drawn either with a right-handed twist or a left-handed twist,² we get eight different varieties; four by placing the right-handed kind facing upwards, downwards, to the right, or to the left; and four by doing the same thing with the left-handed kind. A further modification can be made in this knot by increasing the number of convolutions made by the spiral.

As examples of a few of the ways of arranging the spiral knot, we have first those in which the spiral makes one turn only,—at Dewsbury (No. 4), a single row of

¹ Indicated by letter C in my paper on "Interlaced Ornament".

² A right-handed knot may be converted into a left-handed one by drawing it on transparent tracing-paper, and turning the paper over, by holding the drawing in front of a looking-glass, or by taking an impression of it on blotting-paper.

right-handed knots all facing upwards; at Crofton (No. 1), Ilkley (No. 7), and Thornhill (No. 1), a double row; those in the right hand row being all right-handed, and facing upwards; and those in the left hand row all left-handed, and also facing upwards.

Spiral knots in which the spiral makes a double turn occur at Ripon (No. 3), in single row; all right-handed, and facing upwards, except the terminal knot, which is right-handed, and faces downwards; and at Leeds in double row, those in the row on the right side being alternately right-handed knots facing upwards, and left-handed knots facing downwards; and those in the left hand row, alternately left-handed knots facing upwards, and right-handed knots facing downwards. As Professor G. F. Browne has pointed out in his paper on the Leeds Cross,¹ the finest development of this pattern is to be found on the sculptured stone at Dunfallandy, Perthshire.

Another very common knot in Hiberno-Saxon art is that indicated by the letter D in my paper on "Interlaced Ornament" already referred to. It is a double knot, in which two bands cross in the centre, and then wind spirally round each other, so as to make the two sides symmetrical. Instances of its use occur in single row, with additional bands added at each side, at Ilkley (No. 4), and in double row at Ripon (No. 4) and Sheffield.

As an instance of a knot which is symmetrical with regard to an axis at right angles with the paper, we have that indicated by the letter F. A right-handed knot of this shape can be made left-handed by drawing it on tracing-paper, and reversing the paper, so as to see it from the back; but if the knot is turned upside down, no difference is produced in it. Consequently it is only capable of four variations,—two by placing a right-handed knot facing upwards or sideways, and two by doing the same with a left-handed knot. An example of this knot, in single row (all right-handed knots), facing upwards, occurs at Collingham (No. 1).

A knot which seems to have been derived from the twist and ring pattern,² occurs at Otley (No. 1), in single

¹ *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, vol. xli, pp. 131-143.

² Pattern No. 29 in my paper on "Interlaced Ornament", *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xvi, p. 235.

row, with the knots facing alternately to the right and to the left ; and at Ripon (No. 2) in double row, those in the right row facing to the left, and those in the left row facing to the right.

In all the cases we have been considering, the setting-out lines of the pattern divide the surface to be decorated into squares. At Ilkley (No. 7) the square is again subdivided into triangles by diagonals ; and at Hartshead a circle is inscribed in the square, and divided into four quadrants by diagonals.

Circular Knotwork.—The most elaborate kind of interlaced work which is to be found on the crosses of Ireland and Scotland is composed, not of simple, elementary knots like those just described, but of more complicated ones, with a band making almost a complete circle round the outside : hence the name, “circular knotwork”, that I propose to give to this class of pattern. The circular band does not run the whole way round the outside so as to form a ring, but has one or two small gaps in it where the band turns inwards to join the knot which it encloses. The interlaced work within the ring is sometimes a sort of quadruple knot having the same arrangement of bands placed symmetrically, facing in opposite directions, in each quadrant of the circle. The only circular knot which occurs in the West Riding of Yorkshire is that numbered 170 in my paper on “Interlaced Ornament”. There are examples of it at Ilkley¹ (No. 7) and at Kirkby Hill (No. 1). The knot forming the central, enclosed part, but without the circular band, is to be found on the cross-shaft from Wakefield, now in the York Museum.

On the cross at Leeds a curious pattern will be noticed, which bears some resemblance to circular knotwork, but the surrounding band is a complete ring. Two of the bands also join into one,—a feature characteristic of the Manx crosses.

Irregular Interlaced Work.—On some of the sculptured stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire, at Bingley, Hartshead, Otley, and Thornhill, the interlaced work is

¹ The pattern is incised, not in relief ; a very remarkable peculiarity almost unknown elsewhere, although instances occur at Nigg in Ross-shire, and Irton in Cumberland.

irregular; that is to say, either the bands do not lap over and under each other alternately, as should be the case, or the bands do not join up properly, but go off into space. In the worst examples the work is so debased that no pattern can be followed out at all, and the mere semblance of interlaced work is preserved. Such stuff has no merit of any kind, being either the result of ignorance or entire absence of artistic feeling.

With regard to the cross-base at Hartshead, however, the case is quite different. Here the design is excellent as a whole, and the mistakes would only be detected by a specialist. Let us look on such shortcomings charitably, always remembering that the finest ruby is seldom without a flaw.

Ornamental Features: Key-Patterns.—Only two of the simplest and most common narrow-border key-patterns occur on the sculptured stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire, at Bilton (Nos. 1 and 2), and Kirkby Wharfe; and at Bilton (No. 1), Kirkby Wharfe, and Thornhill (No. 6). A slight variation of the latter pattern occurs at Collingham (No. 2). There are no instances, as in other parts of Great Britain, of large surfaces, such as the panels of the broad faces of the cross-shafts, being covered with key-patterns.

Ornamental Features: Spirals.—The true Celtic, divergent, spiral ornament is conspicuous by its absence on the sculptured stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire. The nearest approach to spiral ornament is on the large cross at Ilkley.

Ornamental Features: Scroll-Foliage.—The general question of the origin and development of scroll-foliage is too large a one to be discussed here. It may be mentioned, however, that this class of decoration belongs almost exclusively to the ancient kingdoms of Northumbria and the northern part of Mercia. In Ireland and Scotland it is rare, and in Wales entirely absent.

The presence of foliage in Ireland and Scotland is to be accounted for by the penetration of the Anglo-Byzantine art of the north of England into these countries probably not earlier than the beginning of the tenth century, when we know the cross of King Fland at Clonmacnois, which has foliage upon it, to have been erected. Foliage is not

found in the earlier Irish MSS.; but there are many instances of it in MSS. of English origin of the ninth and tenth centuries, especially in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, in the British Museum.

Foliage is capable of so much a freer treatment than purely geometrical forms of ornament, and is consequently more difficult to classify. It is possible, however, by noticing the course taken by the stem and branches, and the shapes of the buds, leaves, fruit, or other excrescences from the stem, to distinguish the chief varieties sufficiently well to arrange them in some sort of order. There are three principal kinds of central stems from which the smaller tendrils branch off,—(1), an undulating stem with scrolls in the hollows; (2), a straight stem with scrolls on each side; and (3), undulating stems starting from opposite sides or ends of the panel, and interlacing. The first kind is most suitable for the narrow edges of the cross-shafts. One of the best examples occurs at Ilkley (No. 2). There are instances of the second method of treatment at Hartshead, and of the third at Ilkley (No. 1) and Ledsham.

Fruit is generally represented in the usual conventional way, by a cluster of small knobs or bosses resembling grapes. Unfortunately the details of the foliage have been in many cases obliterated by exposure to the weather; but from an examination of the stones which have been preserved by being built into walls, it appears that the most common forms of leaves were the spear-shaped or the three-lobed; sometimes with rounded ends, and sometimes with pointed ends. The buds are represented by a knob at the end of a thin stem. At the point where the smaller stems branch off from the principal one, it is expanded, and marked with V-shaped groovings or furrows.

Birds and other creatures were often introduced amongst the foliage, and generally occupied the centre of each scroll. Birds are introduced in this way at Hartshead, Ilkley (No. 2), Ledsham (No. 1), and Otley (No. 2). Beasts with four legs and wings occur amongst foliage at Hartshead, and at Ilkley (No. 1) there are a beast and foliage. It was not unusual to place an archer at the bottom of a scroll of foliage, and represent him shooting

an arrow from a bow up at the creatures in the branches above. We have an instance of this at Sheffield.

Ornamental Features: Beasts, etc.—Animal forms of all kinds enter very largely into the decoration of the sculptured stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire; some approximating in appearance to real beasts, whilst others are creatures of the imagination. In purely Irish art of this early period, the bodies of the animals used for purposes of ornament are attenuated and drawn out as much as possible, so that they can be easily interlaced; but in Northumbrian art they are more natural in shape, and the interlaced work confined chiefly to the tail. The beasts on the stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire are arranged either singly or symmetrically, in pairs. The chief varieties of animal forms are—(1), beast with four legs, generally having a long tail interlaced, resembling a real quadruped; (2), imaginary beast with four legs and pair of wings; (3), imaginary beast with pair of forelegs, wings, and tail of a serpent.

There are examples of the first kind, arranged singly at Ilkley (Nos. 1 and 3), and in pairs at Crofton (No. 1), Collingham (No. 1), and Ilkley (No. 2); of the second kind, singly, at Rothwell (No. 2), and in pairs at Hartshead; and of the third kind, singly, at Ilkley (No. 1) and at Otley (No. 1). The details of the examples at Crofton and Otley and Rothwell are remarkably well preserved.

Pairs of serpents interlaced symmetrically occur at Crofton (No. 1), Otley (No. 1), and Thornhill (No. 2).

Figure-Sculpture and Symbolism.—The figure-subjects on the sculptured stones of the West Riding of Yorkshire are for the most part Scriptural or ecclesiastical, although sometimes episodes from the Scandinavian Sagas were illustrated. At any rate Prof. G. F. Browne has made out a good case for the Völund and Swan-Maiden panel on the Leeds cross, in his admirable paper read some time ago before this Association.¹

The large cross at Ilkley (No. 1) affords the best typical example of Christian symbolism now remaining. The north face of this monument, which has already been fully described and illustrated in our *Journal*,² has upon it four panels, each containing one of the symbols of the

¹ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xli, pp. 131-143.

² Vol. xl, p. 160.

four Evangelists ; and on the top panel on the south side contains an ecclesiastic with a pastoral staff, perhaps Christ the Good Shepherd.

At Dewsbury there is a very remarkable collection of fragments of sculptured cross-shafts and cross-heads found during the course of repairs made at different times. Four or five of the fragments (Nos. 2, 5, 6, 8, and 9) appear to have belonged to one monument, which, when perfect, must have been one of the finest in this part of England. The style of the art of the sculpture on all these fragments is the same, and on all is to be noticed the peculiarity that the eyes of the figures have deeply drilled holes in the centre.

The subject on fragment No. 5 is Christ in glory, with nimbus, seated, holding a scroll in the left hand, and having the right upraised, palm outwards. The inscription above the figure, in Saxon capitals, IHZ XR VZ, leaves no doubt as to the meaning.

On fragment No. 6 are two panels,—(1), the Miracle of Cana, inscribed ; three figures with the nimbus round the head, seated ; at their feet four wine-vessels ; (2), inscribed (subject doubtful) ; the head of one figure with the nimbus, and five others without it.

The other fragments are so incomplete that the subjects cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

The broken shaft of another cross at Dewsbury (No. 7) has upon it the Virgin and Child ; and the cross-shaft (No. 4) has on the front the lower half of the body of the crucified Saviour, and on the back a man or devil holding a two-pronged fork.

The remaining stones most worthy of notice are cross-shafts at Otley (No. 2) and Collingham (No. 4), with busts of nimbed saints upon them ; a broken cross at Kirkburton, with the Crucifixion ; and a cross-shaft at Kirkby Wharfe, with two figures, one on each side of a tree (?), perhaps meant for Adam and Eve.

The style of the art of the figure-subjects is far better than that found on the Irish crosses, and bears a great resemblance to the art of the Carlovingian ivories. One of the stones at Otley (No. 2) has a very Roman look about it.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 19TH NOV. 1890.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following members were duly elected :

- Rev. Harry Baber, M.A., Ramsbury Vicarage, Hungerford
- Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A., Detling Rectory, Maidstone
- L. Professor J. Ferguson, LL.D., 12 Newton Place, Glasgow
- J. Goldicutt Turner, Esq., The Cottage, Rickinghall.

The following Honorary Correspondents were elected :

- E. M. Beloe, Esq., King's Lynn
- G. Payne, Esq., F.S.A., Precincts, Rochester
- Rev. W. Foxley Norris, M.A., Canon of Christchurch, Rectory, Witney, Oxon.
- E. W. Beck, Esq., 10 Constantine Road, N.W.
- Mr. Allis, Bailgate, Lincoln
- Edward Wollaston Knocker, Esq., F.S.A., Dover.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

- To the Society*, for "Smithsonian Report : National Museum. 1887 ; 1886, p. 2 ; 1887."
- To Rev. B. H. Blacker*, for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Parts 47, 48. 1890.
- To Hon. G. E. Foster*, Minister of Finance, Ottawa, Canada, for "Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians," by Rev. S. T. Rand, D.D. 1888.
- To Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, for "Journal," No. II, vol. i, 5th Series. 1890.
- To Royal Archaeological Association*, for "Journal," vol. xlvii, Nos. 186, 187.
- To Cambrian Archaeological Association*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," 5th Series, No. 28.

To Somersetshire Archæological Society, for vol. xxxv, 1889.

To Society of Antiquaries, for "Index to Archæologia," vols. i-l, "Proceedings," 2nd Series, vol. xiii, 1889, 1890.

To Lieut.-Gen. Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., F.S.A., for "King John's House, Tollant Royal, Wilts." 1890.

To Messrs. Cassell and Co., for "The Lake-Dwellings of Europe."

To Powys-Land Club, for "Montgomeryshire Collections," vol. xxiv, Part II. 1890.

To Thos. Kerlake, Esq., for "St. Richard, the King of Englishmen." 1890.

To the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, for "Archæologia Æliana," vol. xv. 1890.

C. Brown, Esq., Mayor of Chester, exhibited two fine photographs which he had taken purposely for the Association, to show the position of the Roman column which was found completely buried beneath accumulated earth on his property in Westgate Street, during the rebuilding of one of the old houses on the south side of the Row. The discovery was briefly referred to during last Session. The column and its moulded base stand on a square block of stone, beneath which is a mass of concrete. The old level of the column is nearly that of the present paving of the roadway; and allowing for as much accumulation of earth along the road as had buried completely the whole of the column, it is apparent that the present relative levels of the rows above the roadway must have existed equally in Roman times. In other words, that the levels of the roads were sunk below that of the surfaces on each side of these. Some curious stone coffin-lids, of mediæval date, were also discovered, and were shown on the photograph, as well as by full-sized rubbings which were also exhibited. The second photograph showed the column with an arch turned over it, to support the new building above; provision thus having been made by Mr. Brown, with much public spirit, to keep the column in its original position, and open for easy inspection at any time. Nothing beyond the column was found, to throw light upon the nature of the fabric of which it had formed a portion.

The Rev. Cyrus V. Collier, of Sheffield, sent for exhibition a number of third brass Roman coins which have recently been found during the progress of the railway works at Shipley, near Ilkeston, Derbyshire. The excavators dug up a vase which proved to be filled with coins (many hundreds in number), which were immediately divided among the men, and thus lost for purposes of investigation. Those which were exhibited were of Gallienus, Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, and Victorinus, in usual condition. Mr. Collier paid a visit to the spot where the discovery had been made, and was so fortunate as to

see the man who had dug up the coins. The measurements of the urn were 14 in. high, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. across the base, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. across the middle. It had been buried only about 15 in. below the surface. It was of red clay, glazed.

The Rev. C. G. R. Birch, M.A., of Brancaster, reported the discovery of a brass at Gedney, Lincolnshire, upon which he sent the following report: "I should like to draw attention to the recent discovery of a fine monumental brass during the progress of repairs to the south aisle of Gedney Church, Lincolnshire. Last June, on the removal of a large pew close to the east end of this aisle, a large slab came to light, bearing a fine and well-preserved effigy of a lady (c. 1390) in nebulé headdress, mantle, mittened sleeves, etc., and with a dog with collar of bells at her feet. The height of the effigy slightly exceeds 5 ft. 1 in.; and it is of very good execution, in the best style of the excellent period to which it belongs. No other part of the composition (a very fine one) remains; but the slab bears indents of a fine triple canopy, with four saints under small canopies on each side; and on brackets on either side of the central pediment of the canopy, an angel with scroll, and a female figure (probably the annunciating angel) and the Blessed Virgin. On either side of the lady's head is the indent of a large shield, and the whole composition is surrounded by the indent of a marginal inscription.

"It is supposed to be the memorial of one of the Welby family, who were connected with the parish for a lengthened period, and who have monuments of a later date in the same aisle; but some more precise identification is needed. I hope that some notice of this find may appear in the next Number of the *Journal*.

"I visited the church recently with the members of the Lincolnshire and Notts Archæological Society, and became acquainted with the discovery, and returned and took rubbings and careful notes, from which the above is derived."

The communication was accompanied by a capital copy of the rubbing of the brass, reproduced to smaller size, and printed. There was much cause for belief that this interesting and valuable brass would be again covered over, and hidden from observation; but better counsels have prevailed, and the brass is to be carefully preserved for inspection in the church.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a collection of antiquities recently discovered in digging at Tabard Street, Southwark. They consist of Roman and mediæval fictilia, beads, fish-hooks, knives, keys, buckles, and Samian pottery. The coins were tabulated as follows:

Roman and other Coins found in Tabard Street, Southwark, 1890.—Tiberius (gold), 14-37 A.D.; Nero, 55-68; Domitian, two, 81-96; Trajan, 98-116; Hadrian, 116-138; Lucilla, 161; Postumus, two, 260-272:

Constantine, nine, 306-337; Henry III, 1216-1272; James II, 1685-1688; George I, 1714-1727; Charles I, money-weight; abbey tokens, six.

*The Potters' Marks on Samian Ware are:—*SECUNDVS . F; OF . MO; OF . SEVERI; O . MOM; VNIO; VTEMO; OF . MCCA; F . MCCI, REGINI . M; HABILIS . F; PEII . VSI; ABIE.

Mr. A. S. Langdon read a paper on "Coped Stones in Cornwall", illustrated with a series of rubbings. This, it is hoped, will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper entitled

A CHARM AGAINST THE EVIL EYE.

BY DR. J. RUSSELL FORBES.

In the early part of the year a mosaic pavement was uncovered in a small Basilica on the Coelian Hill, which Basilica had been erected by a pearl-dealer, Manius Publicus Hilarius, adjoining the residence of the College of the Dendrofori, or worshippers of Cybele. Hilarius flourished in the days of the Antonines, and the Basilica was called, after him, the Basilica Hilaria; and he probably took his name from the festival of Cybele (Hilaria), held March 25th. Remains of his statue were found.

The peculiar design of the mosaic has given rise to much discussion, and we have succeeded, after considerable study of the subject, in discovering the true signification of the mosaic. It is nothing more or less than a charm against the evil eye, and as far as we are aware, unique in mosaic work.

In the centre is an eye. On the top of the eyebrow is an owl, representing in this case darkness and evil (Pliny, x, 16). The eye of the owl was looked upon as typical of evil, for it had no motion, the ball being fixed in its socket by a strong elastic case in the form of a truncated cone. The bird has the power of turning its head round almost in a circle, without moving its body, as though to compensate for the absence of motion in the eye. The eye is pierced by a javelin, which disarms it; just as the modern Italians make the *corni* with their fingers, and wear small horns as charms for a spell against the evil eye. In a circle round the owl and eye are beasts, birds, and reptiles, symbolical of the deities. At the top is a raven, the symbol of Apollo; to the left, the dove of Venus perched upon a pine-tree; then comes a goat for Jupiter, the lion of Cybele, a scorpion for Mercury, the bull for Neptune, the wolf of Mars, a stag for Diana, and finally the serpent for Saturn. The pine-tree was sacred to Cybele. The lion of Cybele represents the land, whilst the bull of Neptune symbolises the water; united, the earth. Thus these gods and goddesses each pro-

fect, on their special day, their devotees on the earth, which is composed of land and water, who possess the charm.

Apollo, Sol, Domenica, Sunday; Diana, Luna, Lunedi, Monday; Mars, Martidi, Tuesday; Mercury, Mercolidi, Wednesday; Jove, Giovidi, Thursday; Venus, Venerdi, Friday; and Saturn, Sabato, Saturday; each act as a talisman on their proper day. The Jewish week of seven days was known to the Romans in the days of Pompey, though not generally used till Christian times. Dio Cassius says that Jerusalem was taken by Titus on Saturn's Day, Saturday.

Above the mosaic talisman is written

INTRANTIBUS . HIC . DEOS
PROFITIOS . ET . BASILICA
HILARIANAE

That this is the correct interpretation of the mosaic is confirmed by a relief still extant in England, which represents a human eye. On the brow is seated a figure with a Phrygian cap; on his right is a gladiator who keeps off the evil eye with a trident; below are a lion, serpent, scorpion, crane, and crow.¹ In the Art Museum in New York, U.S.A., is a talisman intaglio having in its centre an eye, on the brow of which is an owl, as in the recently discovered mosaic. To the right are the serpent for Saturn, a stag for Diana, a scorpion for Mercury, the wolf of Mars, the lion for Sol (Apollo), and thunderbolts for Jupiter. Thus six days only of the week are represented. This gem is engraved in King's *Gnostics*, second edition, p. 256.

To this day in Italy all sorts of charms are worn, and gestures made, to avoid the evil eye influence. Pius IX was reputed to have had this misfortune; and we have seen people kneeling to receive his benediction extend their fore and little fingers, thus forming horns, to keep off any evil influence which might lurk under his *mal' occhio*. We have often asked Italians why making this gesturo, or wearing *corni*, should keep away the evil eye; but none seem to know the reason why. They believe in it, and practise it, evidently following classic example. Popular faiths die hard.

"Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos."

Virgil, E. iii, 103.

¹ See observations on an antique bas-relief representing the evil eye, or *fascium*, by James Millingen, Esq., F.S.A., *Archæologia*, xix, pp. 74, 99.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD DECEMBER 1890.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Charles J. Williams, Esq., 9 Church Road, Fulham, was elected a member.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "The Journal of the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland," No. III, vol. i, Fifth Series.

" " for "Bulletin Historique de la Société de la Morinie," New Ser. 153, 154. Livraison.

To H. D. Cole, Esq., for "The Heraldic Bearings of the Families of the Isle of Wight."

To T. N. Brushfield, Esq., M.D., for "Notes of the Parish of East Budleigh" (reprint), and "Description of a Perforated Stone Implement found in the Parish of Wittycombe-Raleigh" (reprint).

Mr. H. Sheraton, of Liverpool, forwarded for exhibition a mass of lead, with the following communication :—"I send you a piece of lead which was recently found on the site of Constantine's Camp at *Segontium* (Carnarvon). It was found on removing a portion of a wall, and I think it is so curious as to be worth sending to show. It is difficult to account for its peculiar shape ; but I think it may be accounted for as modelled to a vacuum in the wall which would exist before the concrete was placed, or run in as grouting. The substance like paint or enamel upon it will be carbonate of lead, caused by contact of the lead with lime. Suppose, then, that during the erection of the wall one man was working with *molten lead*, and having this much to spare, he might run it amongst the loose stones in the centre of the wall which are fixed by the concrete or grouting. This would account clearly, I think, for the peculiar shape of the piece of lead, which the more one examines it, the more curious it appears."

It had been apparently deposited in the molten state from some conflagration.

Mr. J. W. Bodger, of Peterborough, sent for exhibition the following objects :—

1. Deed of feoffment, executed the 20th day of February, in the five and thirtieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, Anno Domini 1682, between Robt. Hart and Henry Hement and Alice his wife of the first part, and John Ground of the second part, and Robert Beale of the third part, all of Whittlesea within the Isle of Ely, in the county of Cambridge, together with memorandum

of the full and peaceable possession and seizin of the land therein mentioned. The descendant of the three persons named in the document is still living in the town of Whittlesea.

2. Eight (sixteen coins) mounts of Roman coins found at Sandy in 1886, embracing a period from Nero (A.D. 50) to Gordianus III (A.D. 238).

3. Taper-stand found in the Cardyke, Bourn, Lincolnshire.

4. Javelin-head dug up at Castor, 1848 or 1849. The widow from whom I obtained it declared it was dug up in Castor Field. The enamelling is very good.

5. A large collection of miscellaneous Roman coins from Woodstone Hill, Peterborough, 1890.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, described the discovery of a huge sarsen-stone beneath the King's Head, Moscow Road, Bayswater, which had been met with in deepening the basement, where it had been found lying on the top of the gravel-subsoil, about 8 ft. below the modern surface. The stone, which weighs about fifteen tons, appears to have been worked to an even surface, showing that it is not merely a geological boulder. If erected in an upright position, it would have been a conspicuous object as a memorial-stone from the course of the old road from London to Silchester,—the latter a work of Roman date, on the site, probably, of a British trackway. This is now represented by the present Bayswater Road.

Miss Stoddart having recently presented a fine collection of rubbings of brasses to the Association, about one hundred in number, a few were exhibited. They were taken about fifty years ago.

Mr. Oliver described a curious, incised slab representing a priest, John Stone, *ob.* 1395, which appears to have been previously used for some other person. His description will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. Davies read a paper on a brass to the memory of John Semis, Mayor of Gloucester *temp.* Henry VIII, and Agnes his wife, previously in the Church of St. John, Gloucester, which is described in Rudder's *History*, but has disappeared long ago. During recent excavations portions of it were found in a vault with rubbish.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on "The Epinal and Cambridge Glossaries compared", and exhibited photographed pages from each MS., and mentioned several examples of remarkable English words of the eighth century which occur in these ancient vocabularies. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter.

Obituary.

CHARLES ROACH SMITH, ESQ., F.S.A.

THIS remarkable man was born at Landguard Manor House, near Shanklin, in the Isle of Wight, in the first decade of the present century, August 1807. His father's ancestors held freehold lands in the Island from the time of Charles I, while his mother came from the old family of Roach of Arreton Manor. The former died when Charles Roach Smith was very young; he was, therefore, brought up under the loving care of a devoted mother, whose noblest characteristics were engrafted in the son so firmly that his long life was marked by its purity, honesty of purpose, and unselfishness.

In his *Retrospections* he informs us that his first lessons were taught him by the Misses Trattle, who kept a girls' school at Brading. He was afterwards removed to a Mr. Crouch's of Swathling, who transferred his establishment, with most of his scholars, to St. Cross, near Winchester. There he received his first classical tuition from the Rev. W. T. Williams. His third and last school was conducted by a Mr. Withers, at Lymington, where his elocutionary powers were made manifest, and where he first became acquainted with the works of Shakespeare, a volume of which he always took with him on half-holidays, to study, in preference to playing cricket; his reading being occasionally relieved by a walk in "The Rings", a fine, wooded British *oppidum* close at hand. "Here", he says, "I was on the threshold of primæval archæology, as I had been when on St. Catherine's Hill, by Winchester; but I could only wonder. Nobody was at hand to open the door for me."

After leaving Lymington, at the age of fourteen he was placed in the office of Mr. Francis Worsley, a solicitor, at Newport, but soon discovered that he was unsuited to the profession of the law. In the meantime a commission in the army was suggested, and matters advanced so far that one in the Royal Marines was promised by Admiral Moore, next to his own nephew; but as it could not be accomplished for three years, the idea was abandoned; which Mr. Roach Smith considered fortunate, as he had a great aversion to the sea. The writer once said to him, that had he entered the service he would then have been a general, he replied, "I should have stopped at nothing less than a field-marshal!"

At this juncture his sister saw an advertisement in a local paper, which finally resulted in young Roach Smith being apprenticed to a

Mr. Follett, a chemist and druggist, at Chichester. The boy left his home on Friday in February 1822, evidently sick at heart, for he says of himself, "I was in a state of utter despondency, and all seemed for the future dreary and dark indeed." His letters to home were, doubtless, disturbing to his mother's mind, and we find her writing one to her son of a decisive nature, which had the wholesome effect of making him determined to put up with his lot patiently until the expiration of his three years' apprenticeship. Consolation was found in Daniel's *Rural Sports* and Pinkerton's *Coins and Medals*.

At this juncture an incident occurred which, doubtless, helped to pave the way to future fame. The lad, while waiting in a shop for change, noticed what he took to be a Roman coin in the till across the counter. It proved to be a second brass of the elder Faustina, and it is almost needless to say that he acquired what was to him then a great prize. Not long after this he heard of a discovery of silver coins near Almodington Common, not far from Chichester. On ascertaining the name and address of the finder, he borrowed Mr. Follett's horse, and set out in the dark night. On arriving at the Common he found the possessor of the coins had gone to bed. Nothing daunted, he knocked up the inmates, and interrogated the wife at the bedroom-window. His errand being made known, some altercation ensued, which ended in his purchasing a few of the coins, when he returned home exultant, and before he went to bed he had cleaned and read them all.

This piece of good fortune was speedily followed by the discovery of an inscribed altar in North Street, Chichester, and the Roman villa at Bignor. This was the youth's first introduction to discoveries of an archæological nature, and which formed the stepping-stones to the study of that science of which he was destined to become so distinguished a scholar.

The term of apprenticeship having expired, Roach Smith, who was about this time nineteen or twenty years of age, became advanced to Messrs. Wilson, Ashmore, Hodgkinson, and Minshull's, wholesale druggists of Snow Hill. At this period of his life he tells us that he thought seriously of making the stage his vocation; which arose, doubtless, from his frequent attendance at the London theatres, his personal acquaintance with many of the leading actors of the day, and his own innate histrionic powers. In the *Retrospections* it is not clearly shown why he gave up all thoughts of becoming an actor, as he was not the man to abandon an idea upon which he had set his mind. It is probable that the death of his mother, whom he adored, at this time caused a complete revolution in his plans and schemes, as he states that the sad calamity so affected him, he determined to start a business on his own account, which he did in Lothbury, at the corner

of Founder's Court, in rear of the Bank of England. Here was commenced the "Roach Smith Collection", famous throughout England and the Continent. During the City improvements discoveries were being continually made, and numerous objects of ancient art daily found their way into Roach Smith's hands. Their advent cast a halo about his life, which can be best appreciated by those who have passed through a similar experience. The gradual influx of such remains into his Museum must have been of incalculable service in illustrating that science which he had now for some years been studying mainly theoretically.

The result of this study was at this time (1836) making itself apparent, and many antiquaries of eminence were attracted to Lothbury, among them being Mr. A. J. Kempe, F.S.A., whom Mr. Roach Smith always spoke of as his antiquarian godfather. Mr. Kempe evidently grasped the situation at once, for he saw in his newly made friend a man of brilliant intellect, devoted to the work he had undertaken, decisive in action, and honest to the backbone. In the Collection he must have seen at a glance that the valuable material already gathered together was the *nucleus* of that which would become of great historical importance. Mr. Kempe did not stop here, for he requested Roach Smith to contribute a communication on his discoveries to the Society of Antiquaries. This was acceded to, and consequently led to the author being introduced to many of the leading Fellows of the Society. The paper was well received, and commented upon in flattering terms. A pleasing result followed, as we learn that the gifted young antiquary was elected a Fellow on December 22nd, 1836. The staff of the Society at that time consisted of the Earl of Aberdeen, President; Mr. Nicholas Carlisle and Sir Henry Ellis, Secretaries; Mr. Hudson Gurney, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Hallam, Vice-Presidents; and Mr. Gage (afterwards Gage-Rokewode), Director.

Roach Smith's fame as a numismatist was widely known; it is, therefore, no surprise that we find him elected Honorary Secretary of the Numismatic Society, an office which he filled with great ability. On his retirement, a few years later, he was presented by the Society with a silver tea and coffee-service, subsequently receiving the honour of an Honorary Membership. In after years he was presented with the first Silver Medal issued by the Society, for his eminent services to numismatics.

Fortune smiled upon our friend; but trouble was at hand, for the premises in Lothbury were required to make way for City improvements. He says: "It led speedily to the utter extinction of my prospects in Lothbury, the annihilation of income, and the necessity of recommencing civic life under every disadvantage and discouragement." This was a crushing blow. "Nought could be done, nought could be

said." Roach Smith accepted the inevitable, and what remuneration he could get, and left his first London home on September 27th, 1840. Nothing daunted, the hero of our memoir secured new premises at 5 Liverpool Street, Bishopsgate. These being more extensive, gave ample room for the better display of the Collection, which was increasing in magnitude.

Excavations being now in progress for the foundations of the New Royal Exchange Buildings, discoveries of relics were made daily, most of which found their way to Liverpool Street. The troubles at Lothbury were now fast becoming effaced. The new venture proved a complete success, and as years rolled by Roach Smith became more and more renowned. His house in Liverpool Street was the rendezvous of all the leading archaeologists of the day. His cultured mind and high character shone out like a brilliant star before them, while his sincerity and kindness of heart won for him legions of firm friends in every walk of life.

It was in 1843 that two of these friends, the late Thomas Wright and John Green Waller, with himself, met together to talk over the desirability of establishing in England an association similar to that founded by M. de Caumont in France. Their deliberations resulted in the formation of the British Archaeological Association, which was the forerunner of all existing archæological societies in this country. Roach Smith acted for some years as Honorary Secretary to the Association, and its publications testify to the zeal with which he filled the office. Although many contributions from his pen were laid before the Society, he was actively engaged, at odd times, in putting together materials for his incomparable work, the *Collectanea Antiqua*, the first volume of which appeared in 1848. Two years after, *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lympne* were laid before the subscribers, a work full of sound reasoning and painstaking research. During its preparation the author was also engaged upon the second volume of the *Collectanea*, which was issued in 1852. He likewise published in that year a *Report on Excavations made on the Site of the Roman Castrum at Lympne*.

At this time great changes in the life of Roach Smith were in prospect. The Museum had become one of the sights of London, and was outgrowing the limited space of a private house. The lease of the premises would shortly expire, and signs of impaired health having made themselves manifest, these combined, together with a natural anxiety as to the future destiny of the Collection, induced its owner to take steps to ensure its ultimate preservation in its entirety. The first move was the publication, in 1854, of a descriptive catalogue, admirably illustrated; after which his most influential colleagues, aware of his intentions, took active measures to induce the Corporation of Lon-

don to secure the Collection for the City. The endeavour failed, and Lord Londesborough at once sent Roach Smith a cheque for £3,000 for the Collection; but as it could not be kept intact, the liberal offer was declined. It was then offered to the Trustees of the British Museum for £2,847, the price at which it was valued by Sotheby. The negotiations ended, after much correspondence, in the sum of £2,000 being accepted. Thus the man and the objects of ancient art which he so revered were separated for ever. To the ordinary mind such an event would have been regarded as an overwhelming catastrophe; but to Roach Smith it was not so. He had fulfilled his task in a manner which to most men placed in similar circumstances would have been well-nigh impossible. The treasures were saved from destruction, and in his skilled hands they had been the means of educating thousands. The great work was finished so far as the Collection was concerned; it was, therefore, handed over to the nation without a shadow of regret. How comforted he must have felt, in the long after years, that the labour and toil of his early manhood were not scattered by the auctioneer's hammer. Roach Smith was a prince of collectors, and he above all others knew how important it was for large local collections to remain in the locality whose past history they illustrated.

We now find him turning his attention to continental antiquities. In company with F. W. Fairholt he had already (1852) visited Trèves, Mayence, Igel, Wiesbaden, Niederbieber, Bonn, and Cologne; in 1853 Charles Warne and Edwin Keet accompanied him to Lillebonne, Vieux, Jublains, etc.; and in 1854 Mr. Warne joined him again in a tour to Orleans, Blois, Amboise, Montrichard, Thésée, Tours, Larçay, Poitiers, Saumur, Doué, Le Mans, and other places. How profitably the travellers spent their time is fully set forth in the second, third (1853), and fourth (1857) volumes of the *Collectanea Antiqua*. Roach Smith had been long acquainted with many *savants* in foreign countries, most of whom frequently corresponded with him. Doubtless the appearance of the volumes just mentioned gave him still greater notoriety in the eyes of his friends across the Channel, and they were not slow in recognising his valuable co-operation. He was elected Honorary Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Spain, of Denmark, Mayence, Wiesbaden, Touraine, and Luxembourg; also Corresponding Member of the Society of Antiquaries of the West of France, of Picardy, and of Normandy, of the Morini, and of the Royal Society of Emulation of Abbeville. Similar honours were likewise conferred upon him at home, he being made an Honorary Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, of Scotland, of the Numismatic Society of London, also the Archaeological Societies of Cheshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, Bury, and West Suffolk, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Norfolk, Scarborough, and the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

In 1856 we find Roach Smith editing for his friend Joseph Mayer the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, being an account of discoveries made in Anglo-Saxon barrows in East Kent by the Rev. Bryan Faussett from 1757 to 1773. The Editor's Introduction to this celebrated work occupies fifty-four pages. It is a masterly production, which will for all time be indispensable to the student of Anglo Saxon antiquities. This seems to have been the last great work which Roach Smith published during his residence in London.

The time had now arrived for some definite arrangement to be made with regard to his business. The last scene in one of the greatest acts of his life was about to be played out. The lease of the premises in Liverpool Street had expired; and he tells us that having parted with his Museum, he also resolved to part with London. No sooner had the fiat gone forth than offers of permanent settlement came from many kind and staunch friends. Foremost among them were Sir John P. Boileau in Norfolk, and Lord Londesborough in Yorkshire.

During Roach Smith's residence in Lothbury he made the acquaintance of Mr. W. H. Harrison of Rochester, who subsequently introduced him to Mr. Humphrey Wickham of Strood, in consequence of the discovery of a Roman cemetery near that town. The three became warm friends, and it was through Mr. Harrison that the zealous antiquary first set foot on the site of the Roman potteries in the Upchurch marshes,—a spot which he afterwards made famous by his researches there, and the able manner in which he illustrated them in his various works. It is needless to say that this part of Kent, therefore, had a special attraction for him, and that he was a constant visitor at the houses of the two gentlemen mentioned above.

Miss Smith, who resided with her brother in London, was at this time (1856) on a visit to Mrs. Wickham at Strood, and on her return she spoke in glowing terms of a house she had seen on the outskirts of Strood, called Temple Place. She and her friend had, during their walks, often "admired the house and its surroundings, and both had said they should wish for nothing better." Roach Smith and his sister were devotedly attached to each other, and on learning that the house was in the market, he replied, "If it is to be sold, consider it yours, and I will have the name engraved on our cards." He goes on to say, "Tears came in her eyes, but she said nothing. I assured her that I was in earnest; for if she liked the place, I should like it, and that it had great advantages in the situation for visiting our friends and for receiving them; that we had both earned and deserved a good garden; in short, that I should at once set to work to secure Temple Place, near Strood."

As ever, he was true to his word, and through the friendly offices of Mr. Wickham the property was at length acquired. What an

intense relief this must have been to Roach Smith's mind after the cruel drudgery of a commercial life, for which he was totally unfitted, we can well imagine. He had already been obliged to decline Lord Londesborough's liberal offer to build for him a house on his own estate at Grimston, in Yorkshire, rent free for life, as it would take his sister far away from her relatives and friends; and, moreover, there was the possibility of Grimston passing away from the family at the death of Lord Londesborough. This was a sad reality, as his Lordship died not many years after, and his successor parted with the estate.

Some time elapsed ere Roach Smith became finally settled at Strood; but the happy day at length came, and he tells us that "ver-tigo vanished in the first day's digging." At the time Temple Place was purchased it was, doubtless, an attractive spot. The house stands some yards from the road, with a carriage-sweep in front, with double iron gates at each end. Between the carriage-road and the highway is a strip of lawn, and a wide garden-border planted with trees and shrubs, which partly shield the lower windows from the gaze of passers by. There are entrances on both sides of the house: one through the stableyard, and one to the servants' quarters and domestic offices. A pathway from this side leads on to a terrace in rear of the house, which in summer-time is overgrown with flowers and creepers. A miniature greenhouse occupies one end of the terrace-walk, while another conceals the back-door of the house. From the terrace is a flight of stone steps to a walled-in flower-garden below, which is prettily laid out with a lawn, beds, and a fish-pond. The beds and borders are filled with old-fashioned flowers of every sort and colour, and at proper intervals are planted pyramid-trees of the choicest fruits. The walls are also covered, that supporting the terrace being overgrown with vines of the Black Hamburg, Chasselas, and other kinds of grapes. From the flower-garden one passes into the kitchen-garden and plantation, occupying an area of some acres in extent. That portion near the house was fully stocked with fruit-trees of the best sorts of apples, pears, and plums, and was reserved for the use of the household, the remainder of the land being let to market-gardeners. This latter part of the estate was a serious loss of income, as from its proximity to the river Medway, and the inefficiency of the sea-wall, it was periodically submerged at extraordinarily high tides; the crops were, therefore, ruined, and tenants difficult to find.

Roach Smith was an able gardener, and up to the last year of his long life did all the digging, sowing, planting, and pruning, with his own hands. No man understood the art of pruning better than himself, and he was skilled in the management of the vine, having in favourable seasons succeeded in growing a great weight of grapes out

of doors. He was intimately acquainted with many of our leading horticulturists and pomologists, notably the late Thomas Rivers and Shirley Hibberd. All the grapes and spare soft fruit grown at Temple Place were made into wine, and Roach Smith's champagne was perfection. Of late years he did not make it. The writer shared the last bottle with him, and can testify to its brilliancy, soundness, and delicate flavour.

We have previously stated that the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* was the last work published by our friend during his residence in London. While this was in progress he was also engaged upon the fourth volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, which in 1857 emanated from Strood. In the next year followed the *Report on Excavations made upon the Site of the Roman Castrum at Pevensey in Sussex*. In 1859 he published that splendid work, *Illustrations of Roman London*, which formed the finishing touches to his researches in the metropolis. The precious tome is embellished with forty-one plates superbly executed by Fairholt, and is a noble monument to the memory of these two faithful friends.

Roach Smith, always mindful of national antiquities, abroad as well as at home, was made acquainted at this time with the threatened destruction, by the municipal authorities, of the Roman walls of Dax in France. He immediately set to work to stay, if possible, this act of Vandalism. With his accustomed foresight he went straight to the fountain-head, making use of his old friend the Abbé Cochet for the purpose. An audience was obtained of the late Emperor, Napoleon III, "who at once forbade the imminent demolition". Roach Smith's friends, in order to mark their sense of this spirited act, caused a medal to be struck in his honour. The medal, which was the work of W. T. Taylor, bears on the obverse an excellent profile portrait of the antiquary, with the inscription, C. ROACH SMITH in the field; reverse, the walls of Dax, with the legend, RELIQ : MVR : AQ : TARBELL : CONS : MDCCCLVIII.

In 1856 Lord Londesborough arranged a tour through the South of France to Rome, and invited Roach Smith to join him. This the latter could not do in consequence of his preparations for leaving London. Fairholt supplied his place; but the results of the journey are recorded in the fifth volume of the *Collectanea*, which was published in 1861. In 1863 appeared a treatise, *On the Scarcity of Home Grown Fruits, with Remedial Suggestions*, which reached a second edition. He says: "In it I advised the planting of unoccupied land on the sides of railways with dwarf apple-trees and other fruit-trees. My suggestion has been partially adopted in France and Germany; but in England the thousands of miles of waste land of the railways yet remain a blank." He was a firm believer in the wisdom of his theory, and con-

tinually alluded to it. He was likewise an advocate for planting marsh-lands by the sea with asparagus,—an experiment which would probably be attended with success if carried out boldly.

On the 3rd of April 1866 death removed from Roach Smith's circle of intimate friends Frederick William Fairholt. In Shakespeare's church at Stratford-upon-Avon Roach Smith caused to be set up, at his own expense, in the autumn of 1868, a memorial to his departed colleague. Mayer, Waller, and Mackeson were present with him on the mournful occasion, for they, too, were warm friends of Fairholt. This memorable visit led to the publication by Roach Smith of *Remarks on Shakespeare, his Birthplace, etc.*, and, soon after, the *Rural Life of Shakespeare as illustrated by his Works*. In 1868 the sixth volume of the *Collectanea* made its appearance.

At this time (1874) a dark cloud overshadowed Temple Place, by the death of Roach Smith's beloved sister. As we have already seen, Miss Smith resided with her brother during his life in London, and doubtless added greatly to his comfort throughout that arduous and trying probation. These two shared also each other's joys which came with the new career at Temple Place. During her life the work of her hands was present everywhere in the country home, and after her death it was allowed to remain sacred and undisturbed. She was an inestimable woman. Charles Roach Smith was deeply conscious of her worth, and he laid her to rest in the quiet churchyard of Frindsbury, at a spot which he could see as he walked upon the terrace in his own garden. For this reason the site for her grave was specially selected, and with much consideration assigned by the Rev. Mr. Formby, then Vicar of the parish, as that portion of the burial-ground had not been used for interments for some time past.

Roach Smith now stood alone, the last of the Smiths of Landguard Manor. How this noble representative of his race lived out the remainder of his days is now the pleasure of the writer to tell. His home-life was particularly uneventful, but fraught with rich blessings for all those with whom he came into contact. Every hour of the day was occupied in health-giving or enlightening employment. Rising at six in the morning during the summer months, work was always at hand to do in the garden. After a light breakfast and the perusal of his numerous letters, he would return again to gardening until one o'clock, at which hour he dined. The afternoon would be devoted to answering letters and other literary work, or reading the current numbers of transactions of the various Societies with which he was connected. Besides his published works, he was incessantly contributing articles to these Societies, writing papers for congresses and for provincial scientific associations. Were all these scattered papers gathered together, they would make many volumes thoroughly illustrative of the Roman rule in Britain.

Roach Smith was a pattern correspondent, and invariably answered letters on the day of their receipt. He possessed that enviable and rare gift of expressing his views in a very few words. It was the same in conversation. Every sentence he uttered was well chosen, full of meaning, and without one word being used unnecessarily. Roach Smith avoided society mainly because his time was too valuable, and also because he had the most profound contempt for its hollow, deceptive formalities, which are such a formidable barrier to true friendship and enlightening intercourse. He was sent into the world apparently to set forth the meaning of the former, and to encourage the latter. His hospitality was unbounded, and his house was open to rich and poor alike. Many a young man owes his position in life to the wise counsel and advice of Roach Smith. It was no uncommon thing to see six or eight of the assistants from the various places of business in Strood assembled at Temple Place every Sunday evening, after Divine Service, to indulge in wholesome and profitable communion with the worthy Master, instead of frittering away their time in the streets or at the bar of a restaurant. Numerous instances could be mentioned where the seed sown in that house "fell upon good ground", and bore a rich harvest, to the honour and glory of the sower. Those who received the gift so freely offered will never cease to bless the name of Roach Smith, and throughout their lives will look back with pleasure to the circumstances which brought them into contact with him. On these Sunday evenings, which were a source of so much delight to him, he usually retired to rest a little later, but his accustomed hour was nine o'clock.

We have already hinted that Roach Smith showed that he possessed elocutionary powers at a very early age. In after years these were developed to an extraordinary extent, and by his readings and recitations he contributed thousands of pounds to various charities and institutions throughout the country. His ability in this direction was disseminated to others when he founded the Strood Elocution Class in 1871. Until the last few months of his life he was a regular attendant during the winter weekly meetings of the Class at the Strood Institute, and was invariably one of the performers himself. To the members this was a lesson in itself; but he spared no pains in training the young beginner. How they profited by it and by their own individual efforts has been annually demonstrated by the special entertainments which they periodically gave to large and appreciative audiences. The Class presented their esteemed founder and President with a handsome clock suitably inscribed, in token of their gratitude and affectionate regard.

In connection with this work and that of other societies, Roach Smith was frequently called upon to ascend the platform, in the full

gaze of the public, with that once handsome face disfigured by a terrible disease, from which he had been a sufferer for many years. What strength of will this required, no man knew but himself. His stern determination to do all the good he could while he lived, alone gave him the courage, in spite of bodily infirmities, to fulfil his self-imposed mission. It fell to the writer's sad lot, on several occasions, to accompany his old friend to Dr. Pritchard's at Greenstreet, when he had to undergo the intensely painful operation which kept within a certain limit the danger of the facial affection. Suffice it to say the agony was endured with a fortitude and patient resignation thoroughly in keeping with the man's noblest characteristics. In spite of this affliction he was cheerful, and it was pleasant to hear him going about the house singing some quaint old ballad, or whistling a favourite tune. Whenever he indulged in the latter, those about him always considered it a sign that he was in good spirits.

Roach Smith was a good walker, and when upwards of seventy years of age tramped twenty miles with the writer in one day without exhibiting the slightest signs of fatigue. He never walked without an object in view. This he kept uppermost in his mind, and never allowed himself to complain of the heat of the sun, the drizzling rain, nor the badness of the roads.

We have now reached the year 1880, when the seventh and last volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua* appeared, which again treats largely of the antiquities of France. At the end of the Preface he promises memoirs of certain friends in a separate work, which, he says, "I am disposed to print should health and circumstances be favourable." The work alluded to was, as it subsequently transpired, *Retrospections, Social and Archaeological*, the first volume of which was issued in 1883, and the second two years later. These volumes are naturally extremely interesting, and are largely taken up with biographical notices of eminent friends. They were disappointing to many, inasmuch as there was an entire absence of chronological arrangement, which the writer, to the best of his ability, has now endeavoured to supply. What Roach Smith's numerous admirers yearned for was a complete account of *himself*; that they might sit at home by their own firesides and follow their colleague year by year, and step by step, throughout that long and honourable career. Roach Smith could not have done this; it would have been too great a tax upon him. He must write as he thought, or not at all. So the words were penned almost without notes or references to guide him. Sheet after sheet of foolscap became covered so rapidly that throughout the task he kept ahead of the printers. Nothing was read a second time until the proof-sheets arrived for correction. There was a long pause after the completion of the second volume, and at times there were grounds for fear that

he might not live to commence even a third. He knew of the impending danger, and for the first time in his life his letters to intimate friends contained allusions to the state of his health. Throughout the *Retrospections* it is clear that his one great thought was to do justice to those of his friends who had in any way distinguished themselves, and whose labours and works might perchance pass into oblivion. Such desires, doubtless, acted as a stimulus to failing strength, which enabled him once more to take the pen in hand, to do honour not only to those who had passed away, but to the living. The third volume was commenced, and had reached nearly 200 pages, when the broken constitution failed any longer to respond to so severe a strain.

For several months of the year 1889 the writer sat with Roach Smith almost daily, and unsuspected watched anxiously the saddening sight of rapid and certain decay. No medical man had been consulted, and the relatives were unaware of the approaching danger; the writer, therefore, in justice to them, and out of affectionate regard for his old friend, called in, upon his own responsibility, Mr. Stephen Steele, surgeon, of Strood, and Dr. Moore Jessop of London, both life-long friends of Roach Smith. Mr. Steele attended at once, and Dr. Jessop the next day. As was anticipated, they found the patient in an alarming condition, and they gave it as their opinion that he would not have lived many days had they not been summoned. Under skilful treatment the patient rallied, struggling hard with our natural enemy. So he continued for months, at one hour fairly bright, at another prostrated with extreme exhaustion. During all this trying period he found sufficient strength to write a few letters to his closest friends, as it seemed to the writer *purposely*, that they each might have one last letter from him, which they would value more than any other he had written. This was noticed in many other things which he did. The good man knew the end was at hand. Certain trifles were sent away to friends: these were done up into parcels, and addressed with his own weary hands. No one was allowed to assist him in these last kindly acts, and we chose to think that we saw a loving reason in it all.

On Saturday evening, the 26th of July 1890, he left that old, familiar study never to return. The next three days he was enabled to dress and sit up in the bedroom. On Wednesday morning the writer presented him with the Silver Medal which had been subscribed for by his fellow antiquaries and friends in token of their regard, and in recognition of his life-long services to archæology. He saw it, and quite understood it, but could not reply; the head turned upon the pillow, and the eyes closed. The writer laid the Medal on the bed, by the hand he had so often grasped as that of a father, and left the room. On the following Saturday, at 12.20 A.M., an unseen hand

approached, and took away that life which had been lived out so nobly and unselfishly.

He was interred in his beloved sister's grave at Frindsbury, on Thursday the 7th of August 1890, the funeral being attended by numerous relatives and friends, and the majority of the members of the Strood Elocution Class.

It will be a relief to many to know that the testimonials and medals he had received during his lifetime were all purchased by members of the family at the sale of his effects. There is no doubt that he intended to present these treasures with his own hands, but he became too weak to carry out his intentions. The subscribers to the Medal Fund, who each received a replica in bronze of the medal, will be gratified to learn that some months before his death Mr. Roach Smith was presented with one hundred guineas of the fund, and the balance which remained will now be devoted to some further memorial of him, to be erected in Rochester Cathedral.

GEO. PAYNE, F.S.A.

DR. HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN.

We regret to chronicle the death of our illustrious Correspondent, Dr. Schliemann, who died on the 26th Dec. at Naples. *The Standard* says that—

Dr. Heinrich Schliemann, whose name is principally known to the world in connection with a series of the most remarkable discoveries ever made of the relics of ancient Greece, was a man of varied talents and original character. Born on the 6th of January 1822, in Mecklenburg Schwerin, the son of a Lutheran pastor, young Schliemann attended school up to the age of fifteen, when, instead of being destined to a University career, he found himself, owing to the *res angusta domi*, compelled to accept the position of apprentice to a grocer in the neighbouring town of Fürstenberg. After five years he commenced his career as a sailor on a Hamburg merchantman bound for Venezuela. The vessel, however, never reached its destination, as it had not gone farther than Texel when it was wrecked. Schliemann, who had to struggle against privations, made his way to Amsterdam, where he succeeded in finding occupation. He found time during the next few years to study and acquire some of the languages of Europe, and in 1846 his principal, finding that he knew Russian, sent him as his agent to St. Petersburg. A year later Schliemann started in the Russian capital in business on his own account. In this he was so successful that eighteen years afterwards he was able to retire on a moderate fortune.

In spite of his onerous commercial preoccupations in St. Petersburg, Schliemann contrived to continue his linguistic studies, and

among other things made himself proficient in both ancient and modern Greek. After travelling in Syria and Egypt he paid his first visit to Greece in 1859, the future scene of his archaeological triumphs. In 1861 he made a voyage round the world; and in 1866 settled in Paris, chiefly in order to study Greek antiquities, with a view to preparing himself to carry out the desire he had long cherished, of investigating the sites of the most famous places in the history of ancient Hellas.

After a visit to Ithaca he proceeded to Asia Minor, and commenced the work which ere long made his name known throughout the civilised world. Being convinced, from his familiarity with the Homeric poems, that the place called Hisarlik was the site of ancient Troy, he applied to the Porte for permission to excavate the spot, and having obtained the sanction of the Turkish authorities he commenced operations in April 1870, defraying the whole of the heavy expenditure out of his own pocket. With occasional interruptions in the hot months he continued his excavations at Ilium until the year 1882. During these years he was materially assisted by his wife, a Greek lady, whom he had married on his second visit to Athens.

The result of Dr. Schliemann's operations at Hisarlik was successful beyond all his expectations, and the work in which he told the story astonished the learned world. At the same time, the best scholars by no means admitted all that the author claimed. From beneath a dense, superincumbent mass, consisting of red cinders mixed with the refuse of copper and lead, the learned excavator had unquestionably unearthed a vast variety of very ancient objects. He had found old brick walls, numbers of ancient tools made of stone, ancient weapons of bronze, and numerous objects in terra cotta, bone, and ivory, besides many vases, jewels, and other objects in gold, silver, and amber. In the latter he believed he had discovered the actual treasures of the old Trojan King, Priam, as described in the *Iliad*; but in this and in some other contentions as to the real character of the relics he had brought to light, the most eminent authorities in Germany and elsewhere were not able to agree with him. At the same time no one questioned the value of Schliemann's discoveries as illustrations of the Homeric poems.

Moreover, as to the actual commercial value of the treasures he had recovered after being hidden in the bowels of the earth for from two thousand to three thousand years, Dr. Schliemann soon had anything but agreeable evidence. The Turkish authorities brought an action against him, before the Greek Courts, to recover the objects found in the course of the excavations. The case was, however, eventually withdrawn on Schliemann agreeing to pay the Turkish authorities the sum of fifty thousand francs in full satisfaction of their claims, and on

the understanding that the excavator was to be permitted to keep the objects he had found. In 1882 Dr. Schliemann presented his collections of the relics of ancient Ilium to the German Empire, and they are now preserved in the National Museum at Berlin.

Troy was, however, not the only scene of Schliemann's successes in the way of archaeological research. At Mycenæ, the old capital of King Agamemnon, he began excavating in 1876, and succeeded in discovering in the ruins of the ancient citadel human remains, numerous precious articles of personal adornment, and weapons, dating from the most ancient period of Greek history. Many of the objects found are in solid gold. They have been deposited in the Polytechnikon at Athens.

Dr. Schliemann carried out other excavations, most of them successful, in Ithaca, and at Tiryns and Orchomenos, where, as at Mycenæ, he brought to light some remarkable examples of the Cyclopean style of architecture. The Lion Gate and the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, the relics of a Cyclopean town in Ithaca, the Treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos, and the imposing remains of the Royal Palace at Tiryns, are among the monuments of the most remote period of Hellenic art and history whose discovery we owe to the indefatigable labours of Dr. Schliemann.

The results of some of his excavations were described by him to this Association (see *Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 246). He also recorded his investigations and propounded his theories in various works, most of which have been translated from the original German into English and the other principal languages of Europe. The titles and dates of the chief volumes are: *Ithaca, the Peloponnesus, and Troy* (1869); *Trojan Antiquities* (1874); *Mycenæ*, with a Preface by Mr. Gladstone (1877); *Ilios, Orchomenos* (1881); *Troja* (1883); and *Tiryns* (1886).

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ERRATA.

P. 150, l. 11, *for Sapp read Sopp.*

„ l. 10, *for thirty or forty read sixty.*

P. 199, l. 15, *for Council of Trent read Council of Tours.*

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